The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 3, 1886.

The Week.

THE President sent in five more vetoes of private pension bills on Friday, and nobody can read the messages without feeling convinced that his objections in each case are well-founded. Mr. Cleveland lays down the rule which ought to govern in these matters, but which has come to be entirely disregarded, when he says: "It is not a pleasant thing to interfere in such a case, but we are dealing with pensions and not with gratuities."

The Boston *Advertiser*, last week, saw fit to speak of "the absurd secrecy which is being practised at the White House concerning the President's marriage." To our minds, so far from being absurd, it was most natural. We presume there are very few properly-constituted human beings who do not crave *some* privacy touching their tastes, habits, doings, sayings, social and domestic relations; or, in other words, do not desire that some portion of their life, be it never so small, shall be private. We think, too, that there is no man with a spark of gentlemanly feeling who, when about to be married, would not wish to regulate the amount of news about the match and the wedding which should be communicated to the public. His rights in this matter, too, are paramount. The public appetite for gossip does not annul or override them. It is only in savage communities that the claim of individuals to have secrets about themselves is totally denied. An Eastern traveller who had put up at a "hotel" in a mining town in Colorado, finding no shades in his window, which looked out on a piazza filled with loafers, pinned a shirt across it to screen him while he was dressing. In a few minutes it was rudely torn down by a hand from the outside, and on his asking angrily what that meant, the intruder exclaimed: "I want to see what there is so d—d private going on here." The loafer's surprise and curiosity were, perhaps, not unnatural, but the traveller was none the less entitled to his screen. Nobody has a right to know everything about anybody on any occasion in life, except the police about a man convicted of a crime. An honest man has a right, on any lawful occasion, to say to what extent he is willing to take the public into his confidence, whether the occasion be his own marriage or his mother's funeral.

President Cleveland doubtless feels all this strongly. He shrinks from having more of his private and personal affairs laid before the public than he chooses. He knows that it is impossible, as the newspaper business is now conducted, to get the simple facts of either his engagement or his marriage given to the people. He knows on what trifles columns of silly, flippant, ruffianly fiction are built up by some of our esteemed contemporaries, and with what disregard of the decencies of civilized life, with what contempt for the feelings of the living or for the memory of the dead, the work is done, if it is at all likely to be marketable. Moreover, his domestic affairs have no sort of resemblance to those of a European sovereign, though the reporters work them up as if they had. His place is not an hereditary one. He and his wife will in all probability be, a few years hence, plain citizens of Buffalo. But none the less his marriage is a matter of some interest to the people of the United States. It does concern them to know what manner of woman the mistress of the White House is, or is to be, but they ought to get their knowledge about her in a sober, respectable, and self-respecting way, like civilized men, and not like savages. The President would doubtless have been glad to gratify their legitimate curiosity about his marriage; but, knowing the agents by whom all knowledge on such subjects reaches the public, he probably endeavored to protect himself by precautions which looked like secrecy, whereas he was simply trying to keep something back, be it never so little, and felt that he should never accomplish even this except by trying to keep everything back.

The grievances of the trades-unions against the Knights of Labor have been reduced to writing, in the form of six demands, and presented to the Cleveland Assembly. These are, in brief, that the Knights shall not initiate any person or persons whose trade has a national or international organization without the consent of such organization; that no person shall be initiated as a Knight who works for less than the union scale of wages, or who has ever been convicted of "scabbing," "ratting," or embezzlement of the funds of a trade-union; that all charters granted to assemblies having a national or international union shall be revoked; that any organizer of the Knights of Labor who endeavors to induce trades-unions to disband, or tampers with their growth and privileges, shall be expelled from the order; that when any strike of trades-unionists is in progress, no assembly of the Knights of Labor shall interfere; and that the Knights of Labor shall not grant any label in competition with any label issued by any national or international trade-union. To grant these demands will be equivalent to disbanding the Knights of Labor altogether, or reducing the order to very contemptible dimensions. The idea at the foundation of the order is, that it is possible to bring "labor" of all kinds into one society, and direct its united power against capital in such a way as to squeeze profits down to nothing, or next to nothing. In practice it is an attempt to enable all trades to get the better of each other—as futile as the proverbial endeavor to lift one's self over a fence by the boot-straps. The trade-union idea is to enable each particular trade to do the best it can for itself, not intending any harm to other trades, but leaving them to look out for themselves. The Knights of Labor would seek to enable the workers in a coal mine and those in an iron furnace and those on a railway connecting the two to jointly get the better of the mine-owners, the railway, and the furnace. In case of a "grievance" in the furnace, the workingmen in all three of the trades might be "ordered out." Two entirely innocent and disinterested trades, together with many others which depend upon the mine and the railway, would be prostrated or injured in order to give a victory to the furnace men. The trade-union method of dealing with the same grievance would be to order a strike of the furnace men, and, by means of their national organization, to prevent the furnace from getting other workmen to take their places. In an extreme case they would order strikes in all furnaces, but would not molest any other trade. The boycott would never be introduced as an auxiliary weapon by a single trade-union, but would be the natural and almost necessary weapon of the Knights of Labor.

The trade-union idea is not only the correct one, but is the only one which has any chance of lasting influence in the social and industrial life of the nation. Every trade pays out the great bulk of its receipts in wages, directly or indirectly. Our friend John Roach, in one of his tariff speeches, said that 90 per cent. of the cost of an iron ship in the United States was paid for labor—labor in the ship-yard, in the rolling-mill, in the iron mine, the coal mine, the forest, the saw-mill, etc. The statement was undoubtedly true as to Mr. Roach's yard, and is probably true as to all yards, both here and abroad. It is not necessary to make a parade of statistics in order to show that what is true of the ship-building trade is true of industry in general, namely, that all but a very small part of the price that anything sells for is paid for the labor of producing it. It follows that when the Knights of Labor seek to bring all trades into one organization in order to get the better of capital, they are fighting capital only to the extent of 10 per cent., while they are fighting labor to the extent of 90 per cent. Mr. Arthur understands this thing better than Mr. Powderly. He says in substance: "Our business is to see that locomotive engineers get their rights. The cigar-makers, the silk dyers, the jute weavers, etc., have our sympathy, but we have no mission to take care of them and ourselves too. They will get on better without us, and we shall get on better without them." This is the American idea, and it will carry the day.

A bricklayers' union in Washington has fixed upon $4 a day as the rate which should be paid to all workmen, whether good or poor, and, a number of men having found employers who are ready to pay them $6 a day, it is authoritatively announced that these men must refuse to earn over $4, and that "the Union will punish any member, by imposing a heavy fine, who shall accept anything in excess of $4." Hitherto in the history of the human race it has been held that the ambition to rise in the world, to make one's labor more valuable to one's employer, and thus to earn higher wages than the lazy and the shiftless, was a very proper and laudable ambition. But the union changes all this The fundamental principle

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of the union is that all workmen shall fare alike; that the same wages shall be paid to the slow-going and inefficient laborer as to the active and capable one. The union holds that it is as great an offence for a member to earn more than the union rate as for him to take less, and the severest penalties are ready to be visited upon any man who makes the slightest effort to better his condition in the world and rise a little above the mass of his fellows.

The Oleomargarine Bill afforded the House as much merriment on Thursday as any circus clown or band of burnt-cork minstrels could supply. All "bogus" articles of food and drink were sought to be added to the list of things to be taxed, such as artificial eggs, motherless chickens, watered milk, sanded sugar, glucose syrup and honey, mixed liquors, and wooden nutmegs. The several amendments were voted down amid roars of laughter, and the bill was "progressed" toward final passage with an evident concurrence of opinion that while members must vote for it, they nevertheless held it to be a supremely foolish measure. The performance was not edifying, but it serves to fix in the public mind the true character of the bill. There is one aspect of the measure and its consequences which may not prove to be so funny. If the price of butter be raised about ten cents a pound after the bill becomes a law—and if this effect be not produced, the only purpose of the bill will have been defeated—there will probably be a general inquiry as to the reasons for the sudden scarcity of an article of such prime necessity. It will then be discerned that although Congress has pretended to give us a free breakfast-table by removing the duties from tea and coffee, it has turned and put a tax on butter, not for revenue, but avowedly in order to make the article bring a higher price in the market. As an experiment upon the forbearance of the American people, the Oleomargarine Bill may have some value as showing how much "protection" the public will put up with. The passage the other day of a bill to prevent mackerel-fishing south of Cape Cod was an experiment in the same line. There is evident need of a bill to stop the manufacture of cotton-seed oil. This article has superseded lard and tallow to a considerable extent. If allowed to run wild in the markets of the country, there is no knowing how many people may find their profits curtailed. Why not pass a bill authorizing the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to collect taxes in his discretion on any new trade which seems to be getting the advantage of any old trade?

The Chicago *Tribune* reads a severe lecture to its New York namesake on the subject of South American trade, steamship subsidies, and the tariff. If American goods could be laid down in South American markets without any charge for transportation, says the Chicago paper, we should still be unable to compete with British manufacturers who get their raw materials free, while our manufacturers are taxed 40 to 50 per cent. on corresponding articles. "This country," it continues, "will never be able to secure the South American markets for her manufacturers until she pulls down the commercial non-intercourse, high-tariff wall which, by a back-action operation in shutting foreign goods out of our market, excludes our wares from foreign markets. This adamantine fact the New York *Tribune* must first learn to comprehend before it can intelligently discuss the subsidy question, or comprehend the reason that American goods are not exported and sold abroad." Which signifies, apparently, that the Chicago *Tribune* is not in the Blaine boom this year.

Just as the public has concluded, after a thorough study of the question of Federal aid to Southern schools, that the subsidy scheme would do more harm than good, Mr. Rutherford B. Hayes appears in an obscure magazine with a plea for such a scheme as the Blair bill, based upon the same old vague assertions of which the fallacy has been so thoroughly exposed. "Four millions of people in the South," Mr. Hayes says, "are unable to read and write," but he apparently does not understand that three-fourths of these people are too old to get any benefit from the most liberal system of schools. "Almost three millions of the young people of the South are growing up without the means of education," says Mr. Hayes. This is the same as saying that half the children of the South have no chance to go to school, whereas the reports of Southern school superintendents show that even in States like South Carolina and Mississippi, where the negroes are most numerous, the proportion of children of the school age who attend school is as large as in New Hampshire. The only bit of evidence which Mr. Hayes cites in support of his theory, is a statement made in a speech "a few years ago" by Dr. Ruffner, then School Superintendent of Virginia, that in his State they were not able to educate the people "in any tolerable sense," as he (Ruffner) had shown by statistics "a few years" before this speech. Regarding this, it is sufficient to say that Virginia has increased the amount of her school expenditures from $946,109 in 1880 to $1,428,678 in 1885, and now keeps her schools open 118 days in the year, against only 104 in Maine, and but 100 in New Hampshire. There might, perhaps, be an excuse for somebody else who should write an article upon so important a question without making the most elementary examination of the facts; but we do not quite see how an ex-President of the United States, leading a life of leisure, can reconcile such carelessness with his conscience.

The time has at last come when the task of answering the people who want to run future Republican campaigns upon a bloody-shirt platform can be left to Republican papers. Frederick Douglass made a speech to a Boston club the other day, in which he declared his belief that Mr. Blaine's ill-natured sectional speech at Augusta, after his defeat for the Presidency in 1884, would be "the key-note in the next campaign," and "carry the Republican party triumphantly to victory." A Republican paper in Mr. Blaine's State, the Portland *Advertiser*, discusses this proposition with great good sense. It says that under the reconstruction policy the negroes became the prey of demagogues, and "misgoverned the Southern States beyond all endurance," and it declares that "no New England State would submit for a month to such rapine as was perpetrated by the carpet-bag governments." The revolution which followed was inevitable, and it cannot be reversed, since "no act of Congress can organize and establish permanent anarchy and injustice." The *Advertiser* considers Mr. Douglass a man whose public utterances always deserve attention, but it assures him that "when he advocates the re-establishment of the color line and the carpet-bag governments, he talks of wild impossibilities." When a Maine Republican paper talks in such a strain as this, even Mr. Blaine must begin to perceive how far the country has got beyond his Bourbon ideas.

There are in this city at the present time 8,557 licensed liquor-saloons, or 1 for every 23 voters. This is the proportion for the whole city. If it were possible to get the number of saloons in each ward, we should find that the proportion varied in different localities. In Philadelphia, according to an interesting calculation published by the *Public Ledger* of that city, there are about 6,000 saloons, an average of 1 saloon for every 29 voters, the proportion ranging from 1 saloon to every 8 voters in the worst ward to 1 for every 50 voters in the most respectable ward. There are wards in this city in which the casual observer would say that there must be a liquor saloon for at most every half-dozen voters, for more than half the stores appear to be devoted to that business. But taking the general average of 1 saloon for every 23 voters, what an alarming condition of affairs that discloses! It is no wonder that the liquor-saloon and the liquor-dealer have come to be the controlling forces in municipal politics. Under the present system of mixing politics with liquor, there can be no other result than to multiply constantly the number of saloons. With an Excise Board composed of three men who represent as many different "halls" or factions, and who are all unscrupulous politicians, put there for the express purpose of making the position "pay" all that it possibly can for the benefit of the party, there can be no other outcome. Each Commissioner vies with his fellows to get the largest possible number of saloons which will yield a revenue to him.

The Rhode Island Republicans have carried out their plan, and have completed their alliance with the liquor interest by electing to the office of Chief of the State Police a defaulter, of whom the *Providence Journal*, the Republican organ of the State, speaks as follows:

"Who and what kind of a man Charles R. Brayton is and has been, is known to every citizen of Rhode Island, and to the members of the General Assembly who cast their ballots for him. There can be no plea of ignorance. Every one knows that when Postmaster of the city of Providence he was a defaulter in a sum exceeding $30,000, that he resigned to avoid dismissal, and that this defalcation had to be made good from the pockets of those who, in friendship and trust, gave bonds for his honesty and good behavior. For years before and after the discovery of his crime he has been notorious as the agent of corruption in politics. He has received the money and he has paid the money for 'Machine' politics. He has manipulated caucuses and conventions, and

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been the acknowledged head and chief captain of the Swiss mercenaries of Rhode Island politics, with his fingers upon the keys of intrigue in both political parties, and with instruments in every town and ward in the State."

The *Journal* adds that this performance has excited great public indignation, and predicts that the men who have carried it through will be driven from the public service; if they are not, it says, "then the days of the Republican party in Rhode Island are over, and will deserve to be over." A letter from Newport to *The Evening Post* throws interesting light upon the way in which the scheme was carried through the Legislature. It is no secret that among the prime movers of this plan to strengthen the party by connecting it, through a defaulter, with the rumsellers of the State, are a United States Senator and other Republicans high in the ranks of the party. These are the same men who recently took General Logan to Providence, to arouse the party of moral ideas to a sense of its duties and responsibilities.

A panic is said to have been produced among the Ministerialists in England by the unexpected strength of the "dissidents" displayed at the meeting called by Chamberlain on Monday, which, according to Chamberlain's "arithmetic man," promises a majority of fifty-one against the Home-Rule Bill on the second reading. Their theory is, that if they can muster a majority as large as this, the Queen will see in it evidence that the Opposition can form a cabinet, and will ask Lord Hartington to undertake it, instead of allowing Mr. Gladstone to dissolve Parliament. Should the majority against the bill be but small, however, that is to say, not over thirty, a dissolution is certain. But it is very clear from the wide difference between the estimates of the arithmetic men on each side, made doubtless after most careful canvassing, that there is a large number of members who have not made up and cannot fully make up their minds, and whose course at the final moment nobody, not even they themselves, can accurately foretell. The chances would seem to be at this moment that the bill will be beaten by a small majority, and that Mr. Gladstone will then at once dissolve and appeal to the constituencies; but as the division will take place in all probability before the end of the week, prophecy is of no great value.

Mr. Dicey's letters on English politics are always interesting and instructive, and we make it a rule to let him, as indeed all our correspondents, say his say without note or comment. The letter we print to-day seems, however, to suggest one or two brief observations, which he will not think out of place. The first is, that the absence of "genuine enthusiasm" for Irish home rule in England seems an odd thing for Mr. Dicey to deem worthy of serious consideration. The absence of all genuine interest in Irish questions on the part of Englishmen constitutes the strongest of the arguments for home rule. Now, without interest of some kind to begin with, enthusiasm there cannot be. There was no "genuine enthusiasm" in England for Catholic emancipation, for the abolition of the Protestant tithes, or for any of the land acts, or for the disestablishment of the Irish Church. We have read, we believe, every speech of importance on both sides, and have, on analyzing those of the anti-Gladstonians, found invariably that the whole argument rested on the assumption that the Irish would in some manner fail to keep faith or fulfil the obligations imposed by the bill, not through want of ability, but through want of will. If this assumption were taken away, the whole superstructure went to pieces. That is to say, the bill has been opposed mainly by means of appeals to prejudice, partly religious and partly racial, or, in other words, on purely sentimental grounds. Secondly, we take leave to dispute Mr. Dicey's first "consequence." The first Reform Bill was undoubtedly the triumph of numbers over wealth, vested interests, and "thoughtfulness," even although the numbers did not vote. At the same time we agree with Mr. Dicey in thinking this a great danger and misfortune. But it is the inevitable consequence of refusing too long the redress of a grievance not felt by the "educated class." That class in England found it easy to bear with the woes of the Irish peasants until that complete social and political separation of the tillers of the soil from the owners of it which we now witness in Ireland, took place. This state of things cannot be cured by further resistance on the part of the educated class, and yet it must be dealt with in some new way.

Of Mr. Dicey's fourth "consequence," we would say that the propositions that "the Gladstonian idolatry is degrading the tone of public life," and that the bona-fide supporters of home rule in the Liberal party do not constitute a "respectable minority"—that is, that the bulk of its supporters are hypocrites or cowards—are too serious to rest on such assumptions as "it is the universal belief"; "every one out of Parliament thinks"; "all over the country Liberal managers" are doing so and so; "men who always opposed home rule" "are being informed" of something very absurd; "rumors are current," etc., etc. We should say that these expressions rather indicate a state of panic and disgust among the "educated class," than describe a whole political situation. Finally, touching Mr. Dicey's fifth consequence, we would remind him that all concessions made by an established government to a revolutionary movement, whether it take the form of simple disorder or of organized armed resistance, involve at the outset "the condonation and, indeed, the reward of lawlessness and injustice" in some degree. This was true of the American Revolution. It began in "lawlessness," and was marked by "injustice toward thousands of men," who "trusted to the protection of the English Parliament," and were "ill-treated because they respected the law," and "attempted to exercise their legal rights." It was true, also, of the Canadian rebellion, and of the concessions to the Dutch Boers. In fact, it is a form of misfortune, or evil, with which Englishmen ought by this time to be very familiar.

The Italian Parliament was dissolved more than a year before the end of its term, and the electoral agitation has begun. That Parliament was the first convoked under the new electoral law passed in the beginning of 1882, which, by considerably reducing the property qualification, as well as the educational tests, raised the number of electors in the kingdom from about six hundred thousand to upwards of two millions and a half. The law, which also included a narrow *scrutin de liste*, was initiated by the Depretis Government, under pressure of the more radical fractions of the Liberal party. The apprehension that the vast extension of the suffrage would bring the constituencies under clerical sway was not realized, the clergy, at the direction of the Vatican, continuing its policy of abstention. The Depretis Cabinet disposed of a good working majority, though continually harassed by attacks of the so-called Pentarchists—that is, the groups led by, or rather supporting, the political fortunes of Cairoli, Crispi, Nicotera, Baccarini, and Zanardelli. It leaned, to a large degree, on the Conservatives, from whom the Left, under Depretis, had wrested the long-held reins of administration in 1876. Both its external policy and domestic management were fiercely denounced, in spite of obviously favorable results, as illiberal, and thus faithless to the programme enunciated by the Left on assuming power. It was accused of tyrannically persecuting Irredentists, Republicans, and Socialists, of fawning upon Bismarck's royal coalition, of cringing before the Pope, of neglecting the interests of Italy in the Balkan Peninsula, in Africa, in Italia Irredenta, and of numberless other wrongs of commission and omission.

A vast improvement in the finances, the abrogation of a forced currency, the electoral reform, the final settlement of the railway problem, peace maintained with France under grievous provocations, a firm and most salutary understanding with Austria-Hungary and Germany—these are the main achievements of which Depretis and his supporters not unjustly boast. The Pentarchist opposition they declare to be devoid of principle and factious, and its protection of Anarchist tendencies, and especially of Irredentism, to be fraught with danger to peace within and abroad. They have not deserted their banner by yielding to necessities arising from changed conditions: it is the Pentarchists who have deserted the common camp. The greatest humiliation suffered by Italy—when France treacherously seized Tunis—was incurred under the Premiership of Cairoli. They cling to the Central-European coalition under honorable conditions, placing a powerful naval and military contingent at the disposal of the peace league. The alliance with the more advanced wing of the Conservatives is a natural consequence of a political evolution demanding a recasting of parties. The reproach of "transformism" they willingly accept. Mancini's foreign policy is a successful continuation of Minghetti's. The fact is, the moderate Liberalism of Depretis suits the ruling classes of Italy so well that even his exceptionally long stay in office—at the head of various cabinets—is not likely to speed the agitation for his downfall. There is no chance for a Radical, Clerical, Socialist, or Anti-Austrian majority, or even strong minority, yet, and coalitions of the advanced opposition with Conservative groups are but transient and partially effective. Depretis holds the same position in Italy which Tisza holds in Hungary by similar methods.

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SUMMARY OF THE WEEK'S NEWS.

[Wednesday, May 26, to Tuesday, June 1, 1886, inclusive.]

DOMESTIC.

The following official announcement was issued from the White House on Friday night: "President Cleveland will be married at the White House on Wednesday evening, June 2, to Miss Frances Folsom. The recent death of a relative of Miss Folsom has changed the original plans for the wedding, and the invitations will now be limited to a few of the near relatives and the members of the Cabinet and their wives. The Rev. Dr. Sunderland of the First Presbyterian Church of Washington will officiate. The ceremony will be followed by a collation, and the wedding in all of its details will be plain and unostentatious."

President Cleveland on Friday vetoed five more private pension bills. In closing one veto message he says: "It is not a pleasant thing to interfere in such a case, but we are dealing with pensions, not with gratuities."

President Cleveland spent Decoration Day in New York and Brooklyn, and reviewed the parades.

The conference report on the Shipping Bill was adopted by both houses of Congress on Thursday. The bill contains the Frye amendment authorizing the President to treat foreign vessels in American ports as American vessels are treated in foreign ports.

It is asserted on good authority that the Canadian fishermen are all anxious and ready to sell bait to American fishermen, as it is their main source of income.

The Canadian schooner *The Sisters*, Capt. Anderson, which had been detained by the United States Collector at Portland, Me., was on Saturday released by order of the Treasury Department. It is said the release was ordered on the ground that the Captain did not intend to evade the law.

The captain of a coaster which arrived at Halifax on Tuesday reported that the *L. Houlette* had seized an American mackerel fisherman off the Guysborough coast.

In the Canadian House of Commons on Thursday the Minister of Marine, in reply to a question, said that six steamers and six schooners are being fitted out to protect the Canadian fisheries. The instructions to the masters of these vessels are to cruise around the coasts to protect the in-shore fisheries from the encroachments of foreign fishing vessels, especially those of the United States. They are to do their work with as great caution, as much courtesy, and as much firmness as is possible

The American revenue cutter *Dix* arrived at Cedar Keys, Fla., on Sunday, with the Spanish fishing smack *Chlotilde* of Havana, which she captured off Anclote Key, Fla., for violating the fishery laws by fishing within three leagues of the American shore, and for irregularities in her papers. The *Chlotilde* is a small schooner-rigged vessel and has six thousand salt fish on board. The crew consists of ten men and officers, none of whom speak English.

Senator Sherman moved in the Senate on Wednesday the bill defining some of the phrases in the law restricting the landing of Chinese in American ports. He said the bill simply defined phrases which had been interpreted in different ways by different courts. Mr. Hoar protested against existing and proposed Chinese legislation as among the great blots on the history of the human race. It was, he said, aimed at men simply because they were laborers, and belonged to a certain race. He intimated that American skill, talent, and industry were afraid they should be beaten. Mr. Ingalls denounced the Chinese restrictive laws as a disgrace to civilization.

Republican Senators held a caucus on Tuesday morning. Among the measures which it was decided to consider in the near future were the bill to repeal the preemption and timber-culture laws and the alien land bill.

At the meeting of the House Committee on Education on Friday, Representative Miller of Texas introduced a substitute for the Blair Educational Bill. It is in substance as follows: It appropriates $8,000,000 annually for ten years, to be distributed among the States and Territories according to the ratio of illiteracy as established by the census of 1880. The money shall be paid to the States on the first of each July beginning with July 1, 1887, and shall be expended by the States in the maintenance of public schools under the State laws. The provisions of the Blair bill requiring reports from the States regarding the disbursement of the money, and to which objections have been made on the ground of interference with States' rights, are eliminated from the bill. In States in which separate schools are maintained for white and colored children, the bill provides that the money given the States shall be apportioned between white and colored schools in the proportion that the total number of children of each race of school age bears to the total number of children of school age in the State as shown by the scholastic census. Mr. Miller says that while he regards all bills of this class as unconstitutional, he prefers that a bill similar to the one proposed by him should be reported rather than one containing the objectionable features embodied in the Blair bill.

The Postal Savings Bank Bill is making little progress in the House Committee on Post-offices. It has been referred to a sub-committee, consisting of Jones of Texas, Chairman, Wood of Indiana, and Burrows of Michigan. They are holding no meetings to consider it.

The Special Committee appointed to investigate the strike in the Southwest has not yet made its report, and ex-Gov. Curtin, the Chairman, who was recently asked when the report might be expected, said that he did not think any would be made at this session. He said that there was something to be gained by holding the subject open, and that he thought it would be well to "enlarge the scope" of the inquiry, and to investigate the labor troubles in Pennsylvania, and that authority would be asked to do that. The Republican members of the Committee think that the delay, if finally decided upon, will be for a political purpose, and that one of its immediate objects will be to aid in the organization of a movement to secure the nomination and election of Mr. Curtin as Governor of Pennsylvania. That, beyond question, is his own object. He is in close relations with Mr. Powderly, and he has doubtless convinced his Democratic colleagues on the Committee that it will be possible for him to secure the coöperation of the Knights of Labor in the advancement of his political plans. The fact that Mr. Powderly is said to insist that the Knights of Labor are not to be used as a political organization, does not seem to have been considered by Curtin.

The Committee on Legislation of the Knights of Labor presented to the General Assembly on Monday a report on the land question, which was unanimously adopted. They demand that all public land shall be held for settlers only; that all land which is held by individual proprietors in excess of 160 acres, and which is not under cultivation, shall be taxed on the full value of cultivated land in the same neighborhood; that all land which is now held by railroads or other corporations when the conditions under which it was granted have not been complied with, shall be declared forfeited and revert to the Government; that patents shall at once be issued for all non-forfeitable lands, and that the taxation of them on the basis of the value of cultivated land shall at once begin; that all fences on the public domain shall at once be removed at the expense of those who have put them up; that after 1890 all lands in the United States the titles to which are vested in aliens shall be taken possession of by the Government under the right of eminent domain, by purchase at a fair valuation, which shall be fixed by appraisement; that after 1886 no alien shall be permitted to acquire the title to land either by purchase or in any other way. In addition to this they demand that Congress shall pass a law abolishing all property qualifications for the exercise of the elective franchise. In all the States they demand the passage of an act providing for a graduated income tax. They protest against the reduction of the appropriation for the Labor Bureau. The passage of a bill is urged prohibiting the employment of minors for more than eight hours.

The Grand Lodge of the Brotherhood of Railway Brakemen recently in Illinois expelled twenty-six of its members for originating the strike on the Union Pacific Railroad, and has suspended thirty more for ninety days for participating. As the Brotherhood is one of the most powerful labor organizations in the country, and now embraces Canada, the above action has created a profound impression in railroad circles.

The Chicago Grand Jury is making inquiries which may lead to the indictment of Most for connection with the riot there. There is evidence that the bombs seized at Lingg's lodgings and distributed by that person were manufactured in accordance with the instructions of Most—that Most was in correspondence with Spies and had a conference with him shortly before the bomb throwing; and it is believed that it can be established that packages of dynamite were sent from New York by Most to Spies for work in Chicago. Twenty-two Anarchists were indicted by the Chicago Grand Jury on Thursday, a number of them for murder.

The Anarchists John Most, Adolph Schenck, and Richard Braunschweig, charged with unlawful assembly, etc., were found guilty in the Court of General Sessions late Friday afternoon, and were remanded for sentence. Schenck was recommended by the jury to the mercy of the Court. Under the conviction, Recorder Smyth can sentence the prisoners to the penitentiary for one year, and fine them $500 each.

Judges Pardee and Billings, in the United States Circuit Court, sitting in New Orleans, on Monday rendered a decision in the notable case of the American Bell Telephone Company against the International Improved Telephone Company. In concluding their opinion, which is in Bell's favor, the judges say: "From the evidence submitted in this case it seems clear that now, in the present state of the art, neither the Reiss instruments nor any reproduction of them can be made to transmit articulate speech except by changes of some form in the instruments themselves or by the employment of Bell's methods. We therefore conclude that neither Reiss nor his successors anticipated the invention of Bell as set forth in the fifth claim of his application and patent, and as illustrated by figure 7 described in his accompanying specification. The injunction against the defendant company is ordered to issue."

The New Jersey Prohibition State Convention on Friday nominated Gen. Clinton B. Fisk for Governor. They hope to poll about 22,000 votes in the campaign.

In the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church at Augusta, Ga., on Wednesday, a vote was taken on the case of Dr. Woodrow, charged with teaching evolution in a theological seminary. By a vote of 137 to 13, the majority report, which declares that "man was created by an immediate act of divine power, without animal parentage," was adopted.

Judge Marcus Lyon, as Surrogate of Tompkins County, N. Y., on Wednesday filed a decision in the famous McGraw-Fiske will case, decreeing the legacies of Jennie McGraw Fiske to Cornell University of $1,500,000 for library purposes in all respects valid, ratifying the payments heretofore made, and directing Executor Boardman to pay the balance of Mrs. Fiske's estate to Cornell University as residuary legatee. This celebrated case has been pending before Judge Lyon since July 20, 1883. The alleged invalidity of the legacies to the Uni-

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versity was based on the fact that its charter limited its property holdings to a sum not exceeding $3,000,000. Judge Lyon holds that it has not been proved that at the time of Mrs. Fiske's death the property absolutely held by Cornell University exceeded $3,000,000. He decides that the University does not own in fee or absolutely the lands sold by the State to Ezra Cornell, but only the income from them or their proceeds.

Andrew Carnegie, the millionaire steel manufacturer, has given $250,000 to Alleghany City for establishing a free library and music hall. This is in addition to his gift of $500,000 to Pittsburgh.

Gen. W. T. Sherman has announced his intention of residing permanently in New York.

John Russell Bartlett died on Friday in Providence, at the age of eighty-one. He was for many years Secretary of State of Rhode Island. In 1850 he was appointed commissioner for the survey of the boundary line between the United States and Mexico. He made extensive explorations and scientific observations, which he embodied in valuable works. Among the books which he wrote were a 'Bibliography of Rhode Island,' 'Progress of Ethnology,' 'Dictionary of Americanisms,' 'Literature of the Rebellion,' and 'Primeval Man.' Of these the 'Americanisms' is by far the best known.

John Kelly, the noted Tammany leader of this city, died on Tuesday afternoon. He had been ill for more than a year, but at times seemed to partly recover his health. He was born in this city on April 20, 1822, of Irish parentage. His education was meagre, and he fought his way to power through ward politics. He became known as the representative of the Irish Roman Catholic interest in the Board of Aldermen and later in Congress. He redeemed the Tammany Hall organization from the Tweed ring in 1872, but in 1876 opposed Mr. Tilden, and led the revolt against him in the Democratic National Convention. After his nomination, however, he pledged him his support. In 1879 he carried his warfare further, and was the Tammany candidate for Governor of New York. The bolt elected Cornell. From 1876 to 1880 Mr. Kelly was Comptroller of New York city. In the last National Democratic Convention he opposed the nomination of Cleveland. Since that campaign his health has been broken.

FOREIGN.

It was authoritatively announced in London on Thursday that Mr. Chamberlain would not attend the Liberal meeting, on the ground that Mr. Gladstone's circular was so framed as to exclude a certain section of the party.

The general Liberal meeting assembled on Thursday afternoon. It was well attended by the Premier's supporters, but none of the known Hartington or Chamberlain dissidents was present. Mr. Gladstone was cheered when he entered. He at once proceeded to the business on hand, and announced that the Government had decided to modify the clause (No. 24) of the Home-Rule Bill excluding Irish representatives from Westminster, provided the bill passed its second reading and was referred to a select committee for action during the autumn session of Parliament. Mr. Gladstone declared that he would at the autumn session of Parliament introduce an amended Irish home-rule bill. The meeting cordially approved the position taken by Mr. Gladstone.

A number of the Liberal dissidents who did not care to risk compromising themselves by attending the meeting, hailed with undisguised satisfaction the attitude of apparent conciliation adopted by the Premier. These now openly proclaim their intention to return to their party allegiance and vote with the Government for the second reading. Among the first to announce their return were Mr. John Fletcher Moulton, Radical Member of Parliament for Clapham, and Mr. Samuel Whitbread, Liberal Member for Bedford. Mr. Whitbread's accession is perhaps the most influential that the Premier could have desired.

In his speech at the Liberal meeting Mr. Gladstone said that the Government was willing to submit to Parliament a plan entitling Irish representatives to be invited to attend the Imperial Parliament whenever proposals of taxation affecting Ireland were up for consideration. Moreover, if the House of Commons wished, the Government was ready to undertake the responsibility of entitling the Irish to be heard in the Imperial Parliament on imperial or reserved questions. Changes in the Home-Rule Bill to accomplish these results would, however, entail a reconstruction of the measure. The Government, therefore, thought that after the second reading of the bill it might be postponed until the autumn session of Parliament; or the Government might resummon Parliament to an early session in 1887, and then again submit the bill, with such necessary amendments as during the interval had been deemed advisable without prejudice to the principle of the bill. Mr. Gladstone himself thought the latter method the preferable one.

It is asserted that the proposed modifications in the Home-Rule Bill include provisions for a full representation of Ireland when the House has under discussion army and navy estimates, votes of credit for war purposes, foreign treaties, fiscal changes affecting the customs and excise of the United Kingdom, and votes for the maintenance of the royal family. The Parnellites, at an informal conference on Thursday, agreed to accept Mr. Gladstone's proposal to read the bill a second time and postpone the committee stage till autumn. They were all inclined to agree to the proposed modifications.

In the House of Commons on Friday night Mr. Gladstone said that the Government considered it to be its duty, after the second reading of the Home-Rule Bill, not to ask the House to go into Committee on the measure, but to adopt one of the methods which he described at the recent Liberal meeting. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, in view of the unsatisfactory statement of the Government, moved an adjournment. He was greeted with cheers by the Opposition, all the Conservatives rising to support the motion. Mr. Gladstone made a vigorous reply. He said that the Government had raised one of the greatest issues ever submitted to Parliament, and would endeavor to keep it clear of collateral issues. The Government had before it a conflict, and was prepared to go through the struggle to the end. It was perfectly confident as to the final issue. The Government was acting in accordance with precedent. It was because the course which the Government had taken was the best means of attaining the end sought that Sir Michael had moved an adjournment. Sir Michael asked to withdraw his motion, but the Parnellites insisted on a division, and the motion was lost by a vote of 405 to 1, the Opposition voting with the Government. The announcement was received with laughter and ironical cheers. The Government has decided to introduce a comprehensive registration bill in Parliament with a view to the holding of a general election in 1887. The Arms Bill passed its third reading by 156 to 65.

It was authoritatively announced in London on Saturday that Lord Hartington and his Whig followers have resolved to vote against the Home-Rule Bill when it comes up for second reading.

The aspect of the home-rule question was suddenly changed on Monday by a meeting of Mr. Chamberlain's party. Fifty-four members of Parliament attended it, and on a division forty-six decided to vote against the bill, five refused to pledge themselves, and three declared that they would support the bill. The news created intense excitement in the lobby of the House of Commons. Ministerialists admitted that defeat was inevitable, and there was a general rush of members to the telegraph offices to send orders to their election agents to prepare for an immediate dissolution of Parliament. The Conservative whips estimate the Conservative vote at 252, the vote of the Hartington and Chamberlain section at 96, the Liberal abstentions at 25, and the vote of the Gladstonians and Parnellites at 297, making a majority against the bill of 51.

The debate on the Home-Rule Bill in the House of Commons on Tuesday night was very exciting and acrimonious. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain made a long speech explaining his attitude of hostility to Mr. Gladstone. He was frequently interrupted by Parnellite howls and Conservative cheers. He explained at great length why he found Mr. Gladstone's concessions inadequate. In the course of his speech he said: If there had been any real element of finality in the bill, he would have voted for its second reading, but he failed to see any such element. The Irish people would not regard it as final. Had such a bill been offered to Scotland the people would have indignantly rejected it. Was there any man in the House who could maintain that the bill did not weaken the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, or at least throw doubt upon it? He challenged the Irish supporters of the bill to get up in Ireland and say that they favored the continued existence of the real supremacy of the Imperial Parliament [Parnellite cheers] as it exists at present. [Parnellite cries of "No! No!"] Ah, now the House sees the view of its Nationalist members. They want to weaken that supremacy. [Opposition cheers.] They only support the bill because they believe it throws doubt upon it and leaves the supremacy a mere constitutional figment. We want a real and effective supremacy, and will not lower the powers of the British Parliament to the level of the suzerainty of the Porte over Cyprus. "There is not a man here," said Mr. Chamberlain in conclusion, "who does not know that every personal and political interest would have led me to cast my lot with Mr. Gladstone. Not a day passes that I do not receive scores of letters urging me for my own sake to vote for the bill and dish the Whigs. The temptation is no doubt great, but I am not base enough to gratify my personal ambition by betraying my country." Mr. Sexton replied to Mr. Chamberlain. A "whip" has been sent to the Government supporters, announcing a probable vote on the second reading of the Home-Rule Bill on June 3.

The Rev. Mr. Spurgeon publishes an attack on Mr. Gladstone's Home-Rule Bill. The preacher asks, "What has Ulster done to be cast off?" and adds: "The whole scheme is full of dangers and absurdities, as if conceived by a madman. Yet I am sure that Mr. Gladstone believes he is only doing justice and acting for the good of all. I consider that he is making one of those mistakes only made by great and well-meaning men."

The race for the Derby stakes at Epsom on Wednesday was won by the Duke of Westminster's bay colt Ormonde.

The French Chamber of Deputies on Thursday evening voted urgency for the Government's bill to expel the princes.

It is stated that Prince Jerome Napoleon will soon come to the United States. The ostensible object of the trip to America is said to be to meet his son, who is returning by way of San Francisco and New York from his trip around the world.

Advices from Samoa of May 22 state that a German man-of-war proceeded to the territory of King Tomasese, whom Germany upholds against King Malietoa. The British and American consuls at Apia drew up a formal protest against Germany's subversion of King Malietoa's authority, and, in response to that ruler's appeal for protection, the American Consul hoisted the Samoan under the American flag and immediately telegraphed to President Cleveland, notifying him of his action in establishing a protectorate over the disputed territory.

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THE KNIGHTS AS AN EDUCATIONAL BODY.

We see that prominent among the delegates to the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor at Cleveland are Messrs. Caville, Graham, and Best, of whom the first-named is General Auditor of the order, and the other two members of the Executive Committee of the Empire Protective Association. All three are notorious for their connection with the railroad strikes in this city and in Brooklyn, in which they assumed the air of conquerors over the terrified companies. They not only ordered strikes on the slightest provocation, or entirely without any, as in Brooklyn in April, but have insisted on demands quite as outrageous as any that have been made since the trouble began. Caville, a Brooklyn man, ordered the first railway strike in that city, and, after that was settled by granting his demands, ordered the men out again on the pretext that Mr. Richardson had not discharged two or three men obnoxious to the Knights. On this occasion Caville addressed a very insolent note to the President of the Brooklyn City Railroad, saying that if he afforded the least assistance of any kind to the other companies, all of his cars would be "tied up." Various manifestoes from him in the *Eagle* during March show him to be as violent and unreasonable as poor Irons himself. Barry, a member of the Executive Board of the Knights of Labor, was a pot-house politician in Saginaw until the labor troubles broke out there last summer. These were fomented and encouraged by him, and he was the leader of the mob that went along the Saginaw River to the mills in July, and by threats of violence forced the men to quit work. His speeches before and during the strike were of the most incendiary and communistic character. He was arrested and tried at East Saginaw in January last. Threats of and incitements to violence were proved against him by a number of respectable witnesses, but they were sworn down by the Knights of Labor, who flatly contradicted everything charged, and Barry escaped. The strike he started lasted about two months, 20,000 men being idle, and great destitution and loss being the result. The men finally gave in and resumed work on the terms they were accepting before the strike.

Now, it is apparently very largely upon such men as these that the amiable Mr. Powderly is going to rely to enable him to convert the Knights of Labor into a social-science association, or, in other words, an association for mutual improvement, the members of which will discuss and read "papers" to each other at stated meetings. For this is what the Knights must be if, in accordance with Mr. Powderly's plan, they are going to discard strikes and boycotts. The object of his movement, he says in the preamble to his Constitution, is, in general terms, "to make industrial or moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness," and "to secure to workers the full enjoyment of the wealth they create, sufficient leisure in which to develop their intellectual, moral, and social faculties—all of the benefits, recreation, and pleasures of association; in a word, to enable them to share in the gains and honors of advancing civilization." This is an official statement which we copy directly from the record. Now, it is obvious at a glance that these ends are also those of the Christian Church, of the public schools, of the Cooper Union, and various other educational and philanthropic associations throughout the country, including the Free Trade Club and the Social Science Association. If there be any difference, in fact, between Mr. Powderly's association, as he describes it, and that so ably managed by our friend Mr. F. B. Sanborn, it must be in the *modus operandi*. Their aims are identical. Mr. Sanborn invites every one to become a member who is willing to pay $5 a year subscription, while Mr. Powderly excludes bankers, stock-brokers, and professional gamblers, but is content with twenty-four cents a year, besides fixed but moderate prices for "charters" for local assemblies. The subjects to be discussed at Mr. Powderly's meetings are much the same as those discussed at Mr. Sanborn's meetings. They are: Labor statistics, the public lands, legislation affecting labor and capital arbitration, the incorporation of trades, the contract system in public works, factory and mining and convict labor, the income tax, the currency, the public credit, and so forth. We presume, too, that they are to be discussed by the Knights much in the same way in which the Social Science Association discusses them—that is, by reading papers and then debating the subject orally. Mr. Powderly has undoubtedly been far more successful in getting members than Mr. Sanborn has been, as he says he has got one million or thereabouts, while we doubt if Mr. Sanborn has one thousand.

But there are limits to the size of a Social Science Association, and we cannot help thinking that the Knights have grown far beyond the size at which such a body is manageable by even so great a man as we hear that Mr. Powderly is. The number of members who seek offices is already, according to all accounts, enormous, and the offices are sought largely because they are salaried, which is a bad feature; in Mr. Sanborn's Association nobody is paid anything, or at all events only the secretary and one or two clerks. Moreover, all the accounts show that the dependence of the organization on Mr. Powderly, and the reverence felt for him by the members, are alarming, considering that he is a delicate man. If he should die or become a helpless invalid, what would happen? The English Social Science Association has this year died quietly, by simply failing to meet, and hardly anybody has noticed its disappearance. But Mr. Powderly's association could not go out in this way. Such an organization as his when it falls must fall with a tremendous crash. Anything which undertakes the work of the Christian Church, of the schools and colleges and philanthropic and educational societies all in one, cannot go down without sending a tremor through society.

We say all this on the assumption that the Grahams, the Bests, the Barrys, and the Ironses have really fallen in with Mr. Powderly's idea of making the organization simply a debating society, and giving up strikes and boycotting. But, to be entirely frank, we do not think they have. They are concurring much as the Democratic politicians concurred before election with Mr. Cleveland's civil-service reform ideas. These men have no real faith in the power of discussion, or even comprehension of it. They still really rely for the elevation of the laborer on hitting people with clubs and bricks, tearing up tracks, killing engines, and burning freight depots. They are doubtless willing to humor the gentle Powderly for a while, but they are not going to let him convert them just yet into scholars and gentlemen.

GROWING POWER OF THE PROHIBITIONISTS.

It is evident to even the most careless political observer that the temperance movement, which has for several years played so important a part in the politics of certain Western States, is spreading with great rapidity to nearly all parts of the Union. Its growth in New York and New Jersey during the past winter has been especially noticeable, and it is safe to say that it is causing the Republican managers in both States more uneasiness than anything else. A State Convention of Prohibitionists has just met in New Jersey with an attendance of nearly 800 delegates, representing every section of the State. So alarmed were the New Jersey Republican managers about this convention, that they called a conference in advance to devise means for warding off the danger which it threatened to their organization. They agreed upon an address setting forth the party attitude upon the temperance issue, which was in brief a declaration in favor of local option as the most desirable method of settling the question. The address had a great deal of sounding rhetoric upon the glorious record of the Republican party as a party of moral ideas, and as an organization which had no sympathy with rum-sellers. Its most outspoken sentence was this: "It is neither wise, practical, nor necessary to insist that legislation on this subject should be restricted to the total prohibition of the liquor traffic."

The convention, nevertheless, adhered to its purpose of nominating a prohibition State ticket. The declaration in favor of local option might have had more influence had not the last New Jersey Legislature, with a Republican majority in both houses, defeated a Local Option Bill. This proceeding, combined with the declaration against prohibition, will confirm the delegates in their already strong belief that it is useless to depend longer upon the promises of sympathy and support which the Republicans have been so prolific in giving for several years past. They are able to see, from these two manifestations, that the Republican leaders are again making their familiar attempt to hold both the temperance vote and the German saloon vote by giving a sop to each.

There are many signs that elsewhere than in New Jersey the temperance advocates have lost faith in Republican promises. Indeed, it may be said that the recent rapid growth of the movement is due largely to this cause. In New York it certainly is. Our Republican Legislature not only refused to adopt a proposition to submit a prohibition amendment to the popular vote, but the power of the whole Re-

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publican organization was brought to bear upon both houses to secure the passage of a bill confessedly drawn to protect "Republican saloon-keepers." The party managers were trying to get a portion of the rum vote in this city, while holding the temperance vote in the State at large. Sheridan Shook's famous telegram exposed the plot, and the consequence is that the Republican managers are now in great fright about the havoc which the prohibition vote is likely to play with their schemes for this fall and for 1888.

Aside from recent Republican legislation, there are two great causes which have led to the growth of the temperance party, and which seem destined to continue that growth far beyond its present limits. One is the utter absence of anything like a moral issue in the Republican party of to-day. The party represents nothing positive in government or morals. It is trying to live upon its past, and to regain power through the mistakes of its opponents. In the United States Senate, where it has control, it has done nothing notable during the present session except to pass a series of gigantic subsidy schemes, which were reckless enough in their folly to have been drawn by a Venerable Sage of the Knights of Labor. The party's leaders are either harping upon Jefferson Davis and the sectional issue, or attempting to make political capital against the Administration because the Secretary of State is conducting the fishery controversy in a dignified and proper manner. Instead of trying to put the party upon a basis of live issues, where it might command the support of intelligent men, the leaders are groping about for issues which will catch the Irish, the soldier, the labor, the liquor, and various other kinds of "votes." Not only are temperance advocates weary of a party thus led, but thousands of Republicans, who are not professed temperance men, are scarcely less weary, and would hail with delight an opportunity to vote for any candidate who represented a living and positive principle.

That the temperance question furnishes such a principle, nobody can deny. The increase of the liquor-selling evil is so alarming that no man who is interested in sobriety, and order, and good government can fail to be made serious by it. It confronts him on every street corner in all our cities, and makes him inclined to cast his vote with any party which will make an honest effort to mitigate or even to suppress it altogether. Therein lies the second and greatest cause of the present temperance movement. The truth, too, of the Prohibition party's charge, that neither of the regular parties can be trusted to grapple with this evil, cannot be gainsaid. The Democratic party, indeed, makes no pretensions of such purpose. The Republican pretensions are worthless, because there is no sincerity behind them. Their party leaders would like to have the temperance vote, and they would conduct the party so as to deserve it if they could only make up their minds that there were as many temperance voters as there are Irish and German Republican voters. That was the problem which confronted Mr. Blaine when he was called upon in Maine in 1884 to vote on the prohibition amendment, and he decided that the latter vote was the larger, and "dodged" accordingly. Every time the Republican party has been brought squarely to the same issue it has "dodged" in the same way, and it is small wonder that the temperance people have at last become tired of the game.

THE HOME-RULE MOVEMENT.—II.

ITS WEAKNESS.

OXFORD, May 18, 1886.

THE weakness of the home-rule movement arises at bottom wholly from two facts, which deserve the most serious consideration.

The first but not the most important of these facts is, that of genuine enthusiasm for home rule—of such faith in principle, for example, as prevailed among the advocates of Catholic Emancipation—there is in Great Britain no trace whatever. That, for one reason or another, the majority of the electorate may support Mr. Gladstone's policy, is to my mind within the range not only of possibility, but even of likelihood. But the very electors who vote for Mr. Gladstone's bill will, in general, vote for it because it is Mr. Gladstone's bill, and not because it is a measure for giving Ireland a Parliament. If the very scheme drafted by Mr. Gladstone had been propounded by Lord Salisbury, not one elector in a thousand would have looked at it; and if Mr. Gladstone had devoted his talents to opposing home rule, not a word would have been heard from any Liberal member in favor of conceding Mr. Parnell's demands. If the whole constitution of England is changed, a fundamental alteration in our polity will for the first time take place without being carried into effect by the force of popular enthusiasm.

The second and far more serious fact is, that on this matter of home rule the "educated classes"—the expression is not one I like, but it is the only term which conveys my meaning—are as nearly unanimous against Mr. Gladstone's proposals as it is possible for thousands of people to be on any one subject. Your readers may naturally think that, being on conviction myself an opponent of home rule, I am mistaken in my estimate of public feeling. Of course this may be so. All I can say is, that though not (I think) a person prone to feel too much confidence in my judgment as to the course of public affairs, I cannot feel the least doubt as to the truth of my assertion that the vast majority of educated men throughout England and Scotland are strenuously opposed to Mr. Gladstone's policy. It may well be doubted whether candid Gladstonians would maintain that I am on this point in error. The conduct of public men such as Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain; the significant silence of John Bright, or rather his very unaccustomed restraint in utterance of his opinion at a great crisis; Mr. Gladstone's denunciation of "classes"; his son's wildly inaccurate version of history; the whole tone of the London press, and a score of other signs, seem to me to show, past a doubt, that not only rich men but thoughtful men are, in general, opponents of the new policy which Mr. Gladstone is attempting to make part of the Liberal creed.

Now, let any one take these two facts into consideration, and he will easily see the way in which they tell against the success of the home-rule movement. From the want of enthusiasm for it in England, combined with the opposition of the Liberal classes, flow the following (among other) consequences which I will attempt to enumerate, in the barest and clearest manner.

(1.) For the first time in modern English history an attempt is going to be made, and may very likely prove successful, to carry through a great constitutional change by force of numbers, as opposed to force of argument. Note that I do not assert (for this is a matter on which sensible persons may fairly differ, and my private opinions ought not to be thrust upon your readers) that Mr. Gladstone's policy is erroneous. All I do assert is, that at the present moment he is outargued. If (as is likely enough) he wins, he will win by virtue of an appeal to faith and sentiment, not to argument and to reason. Whoever will compare the utterances, say, of Mr. Goschen, of Lord Hartington, of Lord Selborne, of Sir Henry James on the Home-Rule Bill with the apologies for that measure put forward by Mr. Gladstone himself, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Bryce, and the other adherents of the Government, will admit that the opponents of the bill appeal to the understanding, while its supporters in the main appeal to the sentiment of the people.

(2.) Hence it follows that if Mr. Gladstone's policy meet with the approval of the electors, popular feeling will have triumphed over the convictions, be they right or wrong, of the educated part of the nation. This is in itself an immense evil. The best feature of the English democracy has been and still is the readiness of electors who can know little about public affairs to be guided by the experience and judgment of trained statesmen. Catholic Emancipation, the Reform of Parliament, the amendment of the Poor Law, the repeal of the Corn Laws, were all the carrying out by the people of measures some of which were opposed to popular feeling, but all of which had long been advocated by the best thinkers of the day. Break down the traditional deference paid in England by ignorance to knowledge, and you break down the one great security for the maintenance of wise government under democratic institutions.

(3.) The success of Mr. Gladstone's policy will inevitably be (though very likely against the wish of Mr. Gladstone himself) the inauguration of a system of personal government. Let a Minister obtain the confidence of the masses, and such a Minister can, it is already clear, persuade thousands of electors that the whole duty of a member of Parliament is to adhere not to such member's principles, but to his leader. The lesson is one easily enough taught, but it is one which is not easily unlearnt. Every one who knows the weak side of free institutions, dreads the advent of "providential men," of "saviors of society," of popular heroes; and Mr. Gladstone is undoubtedly at the present moment, in the eyes of his admirers among the electors, one of those heaven-sent guides whose wisdom can hardly be questioned without the sin of political blasphemy. The crowd have on this occasion singled out for worship a man who stands head and shoulders above the politicians around him; but the real glory with which an idol may be surrounded does not detract from the perniciousness of idolatry, and the condition of popular feeling with regard to Mr. Gladstone may be honestly deplored even by persons who believe that Mr. Gladstone's influence is being used for a good end.

(4.) Gladstonian idolatry is degrading the tone of public life. It is the universal belief that out of the members of the House of Commons who bona fide believe in the policy of home rule, the Ministry could not obtain, I will not say a majority, but even a respectable minority, in support of their proposals. Yet no one doubts that a great number of members, it may be a majority of the House, will support the second reading of the bill. Every one out of Parliament thinks (that is to say) that a large body of English gentlemen may, on a matter of supreme interest to their country, vote against their consciences. This idea may do gross injustice to our representatives, but there are certainly reasons enough for its existence. All over the country, Liberal

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managers are urging on Liberal members the necessity of supporting a bill of which, as every one knows, many of these members do not approve. Men who always opposed home rule, and have recently denounced the Conservative alliance with Mr. Parnell, are being informed, with more or less plainness, that if Mr. Gladstone has become a Home-Ruler, followers of Mr. Gladstone must remember that a follower should follow; that it is for the Premier to find a policy, and for his supporters to find votes. Rumors are current that, to use the not very decent cant imputed to a leading politician, more than one member has "found salvation" by sudden conversion (under pressure) to the home-rule creed. Here, again, we see that the lesson is being taught to public men which, once learnt, will never be forgotten. Whatever be the end of the contest over home rule, it is certain that its incidents will lower the character of English statesmanship.

(5.) The home-rule policy, even if it be, as its advocates maintain, the wisest mode of dealing with Ireland, involves one admitted evil of which the magnitude may be exaggerated, but of which it is hard to deny the reality. It is a policy which must trouble instead of easing the national conscience. It involves at the outset the condonation, and indeed the reward, of lawlessness and injustice. It involves the desertion of men who, whatever their faults, have trusted to the protection of the English Parliament, and have been ill treated simply because they have respected the law and have attempted to exercise their legal rights. It involves in the future the surrender of all serious attempts to prevent the infliction of gross injustice on large bodies of men who are still citizens of the United Kingdom, and in any case will remain British subjects. This is and ought to be a most serious matter. A policy which may logically lead to the employment of British troops to enforce on Ulster obedience to a Parliament in Dublin, in cases where, in the opinion of Englishmen, the Irish Parliament is violating the rules of equity, may turn out wise and right; but it is a policy which rightly enough excites alarm, and disquiets the souls of men who think that the maintenance of justice between man and man is the main object for which the state exists.

I have purposely abstained from dwelling on what may be called the general arguments against the Home-Rule Bill. My aim has been rather to call attention to certain aspects of the present movement which may easily escape the notice of American observers, and which in my judgment render large bodies of Englishmen hostile to Mr. Gladstone's proposals, and, by stirring up such hostility, weaken the movement in favor of home rule. Let it, however, be carefully noted that I do not hazard any prophecy as to the relative power of the forces which favor, and of the forces which oppose, the success of Mr. Gladstone's attempt to place the relations between England and Ireland on an entirely new basis. We are in the midst of a revolution; it were the rashest and vainest of all things to endeavor to foretell what course that revolution may take. A great writer who remembered the first French revolution, has said somewhere that the worst of a revolutionary movement is that you begin it in company with all the honest men, and come out of it in company with all the knaves. This dictum is one of those sayings which impress on prudent men a possibly excessive dread of movements resting directly or indirectly on the encouragement of popular violence and the overthrow of law.

A. V. Dicey.

THE OPPOSITION IN IRELAND TO HOME RULE.

Dublin, May 18, 1886.

I have frequently drawn attention to the intensity of the opposition in Ireland to any plan of home rule, mainly among Protestants and the cultured classes. It is idle to ridicule or underrate the extent of this feeling. There it is, and it must be dealt with and allowed for. While 85 out of our 103 members are Nationalists; while the minority of 18 is confined to Ulster constituencies, except representatives elected by the close borough of Dublin University; while even Ulster has returned a majority on the National side, the opposition is nevertheless powerful and steady. If only as material for history, the intensity and persistency of this opposition are worth recording. On its reasonableness or unreasonableness the future alone can conclusively decide. The great meeting of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, held at the Rotunda a few days ago, affords a good opportunity of estimating its strength. A careful perusal of the speeches at those meetings must make any Irish Protestant Nationalist feel what a responsibility he assumes in differing from such an earnest, sincere, and cultivated body of men, with whose views on other questions he so much more nearly coincides than with those of his Nationalist friends.

The Rotunda is the largest room in Dublin; it was thronged, and an overflow meeting occupied a large concert hall upon the same premises. Admission was by ticket. The attendance was eminently upper-class and "respectable"—very different in its appearance and bearing from that presented by an average assembly at Nationalist meetings. The *Freeman's Journal* remarked that the working-class element was scarcely represented—that the meeting consisted mainly of "dudes." The Conservative *Express* was on the whole more correct: "Peers of the realm, merchants, professional men, clerks, laboring men—all differences of rank disappearing for the nonce—here came together to pronounce the opinion of vast numbers of the Irish people." There was a larger sprinkling of Catholics than, since the inception of the Land League movement, there occurs of Protestants at Nationalist meetings. The chair was taken by the Provost of Trinity College, Mr. Jellett, a man of the highest character, who has been ready to show his sympathy with great moral reforms. Many of the speakers were merchants of high standing, entirely above the suspicion of narrow motives—men to whom the community would first turn for leadership or advice in any matter connected with trade or commerce. Prof. Dowden was there—the Shaksperian critic, the Shelleyist. It may be remarked that whereas the opposition of most speakers was based on distrust of their fellow-countrymen and dread of a general upturning and commercial depression likely to ensue from Irish legislation, the opposition of Prof. Dowden arose rather from his belief that the exclusion of the Irish members from the Imperial Parliament would be derogatory to Ireland and lowering to the character of its people. He termed the bill one "for the disruption of the Liberal party, the disfranchisement of Ireland, and the dismemberment of the empire." Under the proposed change, "the wealth of England would be no longer at our back." "The only reason that could be conceived for honest Englishmen supporting the bill was that it got rid of Ireland, and left England free to work her will on the world." Resolutions were enthusiastically passed condemning Mr. Gladstone's bill, and calling upon "our fellow-subjects to maintain, by every legitimate means in their power, the unity of these kingdoms, and we tender our best thanks to our many friends at home and abroad who came forward to assist us in maintaining the integrity of the empire."

This meeting only expressed the vehement convictions of a section of Irish society even more strongly declared in private than in public—except that in private the opposition to home rule is more admittedly based upon a dread of Catholicism *per se* than it is considered polite or expedient to confess in public. A thoughtful bank manager said to me, as Mr. Gladstone's exposition of his bill was coming in by telegraph, "You have *now* every step of the French Revolution unfolding before you: you now see the two orders debating together; the work will be crowned by the guillotine taking the place of King William in College Green." One of the first stock-brokers in Dublin declared: "If this bill becomes law, economic disasters will ensue, and before many years are over you will see men falling dead of starvation in the streets of Dublin." The librarian of a public library remarked: "You will yet see an auto-da-fé in Dublin, and you [Protestants who side with the Nationalists] will be the first victims"! "Every respectable person will leave the country" is the mildest prediction of most such individuals. Now that Gladstone and Spencer have spoken, it is certainly not utterly disreputable to be a Nationalist, as it used to be, but the lines are perhaps more sharply drawn; the battle is more closely knit than ever before. Men who could discuss the question together six months ago, now find it best to avoid the subject, if they desire to conserve their friendship for more settled times. We hear much of armed preparation in the north to oppose the measure if it pass, and to resist the authority of a Dublin Parliament. The mouthpiece of this party, William Johnston "of Ballykilbeg," is a man of sterling character. He figures on temperance, women's-suffrage, and other social-reform platforms—a man of small means, whose family have to make their way in the world, and who lately relinquished a Government situation of £700 a year rather than stifle the public expression of his convictions. The yearly meeting of the Society of Friends in Ireland is just over. Several of the northern Friends present said they would refuse to pay taxes if the measure passed. It is true that a motion to include condemnation of home rule in the Epistle to the London yearly meeting was defeated, on account of the strong protest of a few Friends; but were matters decided, as in other assemblies, by vote, it would have been carried by an overwhelming majority.

The opposition shown to home rule is by many said to be no greater than that exhibited on previous occasions by the same classes in Ireland to Catholic Emancipation and Church Disestablishment. This is scarcely correct. Those measures were dreaded by certain classes almost as much as is the present; but upon the whole the opposition was not so determined and clearly defined. Many Protestants advocated Emancipation; fewer, Church Disestablishment; though there are more Protestants sympathizing with home rule than show in public or on platforms, their number is certainly small. Fiery passages regarding Disestablishment, such as the following by the Hon. David Plunket, now M. P. for Dublin University, are quoted on Nationalist platforms as showing that the present talk is all bunkum: At a meeting in 1869, Plunket

"appealed to our brother Protestants in England, Scotland, and Wales to stand by us in this last awful hour of our fortunes. . . . We call upon them not to drive us again to that old kind of material, physical resistance which accompanied the first protesting of our forefathers three centuries ago; which accompanied the second protest in this kingdom by our forefathers two hundred years ago; which accompanied the glorious struggle for liberty

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and Protestantism of our predecessors, and was a protest in act and word which they were willing to seal with their blood in martyrdom and battle, if need be, to protest against the oppression and the slavery of a system which they could not, and should not, and which their descendants never will submit to."

I might quote many similar passages, such as the famous declaration (cheered) of a reverend gentleman at a meeting about the same time as above, that if the Irish Church were disestablished, "Irish Protestants would kick the Queen's crown into the Boyne"; but I am bound to say that, in looking over the records of such past agitations, I cannot perceive as high a level of strong protest as we have at present. Separation is declared to be preferable to the proposed arrangement, because "under separation our hands would not be tied by England, and we should be fully able to reconquer the island from the Catholics."

It is remarkable that some, once apparently on the side of Irish self-government, now that the dream is likely to become reality, have joined the opposition. Among these are Goldwin Smith, William H. Lecky, whose 'Leaders of Public Opinion' drew many Protestants into the National ranks; Prof. Dowden, who was supposed by many to be National; also the author of "Who fears to speak of '98?" who was on the platform of the Rotunda; and, perhaps the most striking case, Boyd Kinnear, a Scotch advocate, the author of several papers on the National side, and who declared shortly before the murder of the Secretaries that, "if Scotland were governed as is Ireland, the life of no English official would be safe outside the radius of a policeman's baton."

The ascendency or coercion party are certainly standing to their guns. There is no seeking to make friends with the mammon of unrighteousness. They mean to show fight to the last. They appear entirely unable to recognize what in some form or other is inevitable. They profess themselves prepared for a continuance of the history of the past eighty-three years, with its sixty or seventy coercion acts. They must see some way of working in Parliament against eighty-five Irish members banded together like one man. If continued agitation be, as it is, so destructive of the best interests of the country, have they any better remedy to suggest than Mr. Gladstone's scheme? They seem blind to its checks and safeguards; also to the fact that it is frankly accepted by the Irish party—even by such "extremists" as John Dillon and William O'Brien—men who, whatever may have been their action in the past, are above all suspicion by those who really know them, men of transparent honor and honesty. Nothing could be stronger than the declaration of both these gentlemen, who, with Mr. Parnell, hold in their hands the feelings of the Irish people to a degree almost unprecedented in the past. The attitude of the Opposition as expressed in the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union can arise only from complete ignorance of the real character and intentions of such men—of the real effect of concession upon them.

"What has happened in the case of Earl Spencer?" said Mr. O'Brien. "One touch of kindliness in one speech at Newcastle has effaced and obliterated years of bitter memories from the hearts of Irishmen [Irish cheers], and the speeches of the Prime Minister in this house and the kindly English feeling shown in this house, and, I am glad to say, out of it, sir—these things have done more than fifty coercion acts could do—have done more to bring about a union, a real union, a union of sympathy and of generosity and respect between the two countries. Well, sir, I ask you, Is that a people so hopeless to conciliate?"

The action and speech of men under antagonism and coercion are no measure of their action and speech under trust and responsibility. If the bitter feeling of opponents is best ascertained in private intercourse, so in private intercourse is that of the leading Nationalists most correctly gauged. And they show themselves to be steadied and altered men, impressed by a sense of the responsibilities likely to devolve upon them, and without the suspicion of a desire to act otherwise than fairly by their fellow-countrymen. A member of the party lately said, in private conversation, that he did not desire the modification of any one of the checks and safeguards in Mr. Gladstone's bill, believing all would be necessary, and would rather assist those who sought to pacify the country and to govern wisely and well.

These are the great difficulties before us: (1) The disappointments inevitable among the mass of the people at the results of home rule. The definite and absurd anticipations put forward by Nationalists to spur on the people to contend for autonomy, impossible as they will be of realization, will cause the greatest difficulty to be encountered in working home rule. This has been long acknowledged. "I know well what will ensue," remarked one of the leading Irish Nationalists some years ago: "the first home-rule Ministry will be assassinated." (2) The second great difficulty will arise from the present attitude and action of the upper classes. Those who at first will be best fitted to lead in thought, in economics, in manufactures, in the practical affairs of life, are those who have most resisted reform and the aspirations and desires of the mass of the Irish people. And it will be some time before the people learn to confide in that class as regards those matters in which, for the steady progress of the country, it ought to lead.

Seeing that the apprehensions of disaster from home rule are as great as they undoubtedly are at present, it is remarkable that Irish investments and property have not fallen even lower than they have fallen in value. Bank of Ireland stock is much depressed, but that is due less to the political outlook than to the realization, consequent on the failure of the Munster Bank, that for years it stood at an abnormal figure. The stocks of the three other principal banks, the Royal, the Provincial, and the National, have fallen within the year from 28 to 22, 29 to 20, 24 to 19; part of this decrease may be attributed to the failure of the Munster Bank, part to the state of the country. The stocks of the three principal railways, the Great Southern, Midland, and Northern, have in the same period fallen from 112 to 92, 71 to 62, 113 to 95. In the same period the stocks of some of the principal English lines, the North-Western, the North-Eastern, and the Great Western, have fallen from 162 to 152, 153 to 143, 135 to 127. The value of land as an agricultural investment has depreciated here as much as in England. Land let to tenants is, of course, here almost unsalable. The better class of mansion houses near Dublin have very much decreased in value; this has arisen from many other causes than those connected with politics. The residences of the better class trading and the rank and file of the professional classes, say those at about £100 a year in ordinary localities, have depreciated little, if at all. I was to-day speaking with a representative of one of our largest wholesale houses, that has connections all over the country. He is a cool observer, and insists that the commercial depression over Ireland is very much exaggerated, and that in any case it is little, if at all, due to the agitation. Be this as it may, the indefinite postponement of radical reform in the direction of self-government is not likely to benefit Ireland. Probably before very long many will declare publicly, what they now privately acknowledge, that anything would be better than a continuance of the present unsettlement.

D. B.

THE DUC DE BROGLIE'S RECOLLECTIONS.—II.

PARIS, May 17, 1886.

As soon as Mme. de Staël heard the news of the arrival of Napoleon at Cannes, she saw at once the consequences—the army in revolt, the country resigned to a new change, the King obliged to return into exile, and the Emperor at the Tuileries. She left Paris, the Duc de Broglie remained. The country offered a miserable spectacle. Treason was everywhere; the same people who had made great royalist demonstrations, prepared themselves for the new order of things. Benjamin Constant wrote a flaming article against the usurper, and the ink was not yet dry when he repented having written it. Louis XVIII. went to the Chambers, and announced solemnly that he had resolved to die on the throne, and to defend his people. The Duc de Broglie compares this scene to that of a play: "The curtain once fallen, the old King rolled away in his chair, and it was all over." When the fatal moment arrived, the Duc de Broglie did not feel for the persons any great regret. He did not go to the Tuileries; he knew that he was considered by the Legitimists there a secret enemy. He saw everything from the outside, as a mere witness. "It was easy," says he, "to see through the windows the movements, the precipitation, the trouble of people who feared to hear, from moment to moment, the quick step of the imperial grenadiers. In seeing this little man, exalted by a hundred victories, with a handful of old soldiers throw down with a movement of his hand this castle of cards, I remembered involuntarily the scene in the novel of Cervantes where the hero of La Mancha enters a puppet theatre, and, seeing a princess chained to a pasteboard giant, draws his great sword and cuts in two the prison and the prisoners."

The day after the departure of Louis XVIII. Paris was lugubrious. All the cafés were shut, the passers-by avoided each other. Nobody was in the streets but a few drunken soldiers, singing the "Marseillaise." Towards night "the master arrived. He came like a thief, to use the Scriptural expression. He went up the great staircase of the Tuileries, in the arms of his generals, of his former ministers, of all the past and present servitors of his fortunes, who bore as much anxiety as joy on their faces." The order of the day was a Constitution: the Empire proclaimed itself this time liberal and constitutional. The Duc de Broglie did not believe much in all these demonstrations; he recalls an ironical saying of the times: "How could I fail to be a Liberal? I served in the Mamelukes." We come here upon a curious incident. At a reunion of journalists of some eminence, the Duc de Broglie said openly that he did not for his part believe in this new constitutionalism; "that all hope of dressing the Emperor Napoleon in the garb of a constitutional king was folly; that the expectation of hindering him from attempting new adventures, and from bringing the Allies back a second time to Paris, was another folly. There was but one thing to do, which was to take advantage of this constitutional *coup de vent*, in order to organize a government to disembarrass France of the Emperor, and to prevent a second invasion. The oldest branch of the house of Bourbon had fallen, and not without reason, into great contempt. I pointed to the cadet branch as the only hope of good people and of men of good sense. I was not, however, initiated in any plot; I was not even in intimate relations with the Duc d'Orléans. I had been presented to him, he had received me affably, but I saw him rarely. His position marked him naturally in the circumstances in which we were."

It is singular to see the Duc de Broglie antici-

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pating the Revolution of 1830 in the year 1814. He was probably not the only person who, at this time, desired to substitute the younger branch of the Bourbons for the eldest. Louis Philippe has left a curious volume of memoirs relating to this part of his life, and to his journey to Ghent. It is not difficult to see in it that he was suspected by the King. He had disapproved some of the measures of the Restoration, and was looked upon almost as a Jacobin.

Benjamin Constant, who had written violent articles against Napoleon when the news came of his departure from Elba, had fled to Angers. Since Tacitus and Juvenal, nothing more eloquent had been said against tyrants. Napoleon, who understood the man, instead of proscribing him, sent for him, asked his advice about the new Constitution, made of him a sort of political Egeria, and appointed him Councillor of State. When the Duc de Broglie saw him again, he was in his gilded uniform. There was no explanation; they jumped at once into the discussion of the articles of a new Constitution. Humboldt was present, and in high good-humor. The Duc de Broglie insisted upon the necessity of accepting the hereditary principle in a house of peers.

The Constitution appeared under the name of "Acte additionnel," and was submitted to the docile sanction of the people. It was adopted, as all preceding Constitutions had been. The Duc de Broglie took it seriously, and offered himself as a candidate for the new Chamber of Deputies; but he was not thought, he says, sufficiently Bonapartist, and he was not elected. When he returned to Paris he saw the grand review of the army—the Emperor, surrounded by his splendid staff; the Guard, the regiments who passed before Napoleon: "Cæsar, morituri te salutant." The whole of Europe was preparing to fall again on France; everybody felt that the end was approaching.

The Duc de Broglie remained in Paris till Waterloo. He speaks severely of some of the men who came back with Louis XVIII.: "His Excellency the Duc d'Otrante, the ex-Oratorian Fouché of Nantes, a monster running over with blood, with gall, and with mud, was enacting his latest treason (the smallest, surely, of his peccadilloes), in taking the oath from the hands of the son of Saint-Louis, the brother of Louis XVI., amid the acclamations of good royalists." His patron on this expedition was the ancient Bishop of Autun, who, after having successively thrown away his priest's gown on the fall of the monarchy, his toga on the fall of the Directory, his little crown of Benevento on the fall of the empire, had merely become now the Prince de Talleyrand, first minister of his most Christian King. What figure his most Christian King cut between these two *défroqués* I cannot imagine, but I have been told that when they remounted their carriage, Pozzo di Borgo laughed and said to his neighbor: "I should like to hear what these lambs have to say."

Blücher entered the Tuileries first with his Prussians. The doors of the two chambers were shut. The royalist reaction began all over France. The Duc de Broglie passes rapidly over the return of the King to Paris and the events which followed. The King struck from the House of Peers the members who had consented to sit in the Imperial House of Peers, and replaced them by noted royalists. He exiled thirty-eight persons more or less known, Carnot among the number, who, when he saw himself on the list, went to Fouché and asked him: "Where do you wish me to go, traitor?" "Wherever you like, imbecile," answered his ex-colleague of the Committee of Public Safety. The traitor soon followed the imbecile. The Government first offered Fouché the mission to the United States, he refused it; he accepted the mission to Dresden and finally retired to Grätz.

The Duc de Broglie is very severe on the House of Peers of 1815, of which he was a member. "I do not exaggerate," he says, "when I say that the violence of the dominant party, in the Chamber and out of the Chamber, recalled the worst days of the National Convention." The escape of M. de la Valette from his prison divided Paris into two camps: on one side the men whom the Duc de Broglie calls the Jacobins of the monarchy, and on the other side the moderate men of all shades of opinions and of all ranks. M. de la Valette had been arrested on the 16th of August and condemned to death on the 20th of November. Marshal Ney, arrested on the 6th of August, was condemned to death on the 6th of December. Three peers only were adverse to the condemnation, the Duc de Broglie, Lanjuinais, and Porcher de Richebourg. The Duke gives interesting details of the discussions which took place between them. The vote was nominal, and each peer had to answer these questions: Did Marshal Ney read this proclamation to the troops? In so doing, did the Marshal commit the crime of high treason? The facts were so clear that Lanjuinais said yes, though he added that, in his opinion, Ney was covered by the articles of the Capitulation of Paris. M. Porcher said yes, and begged the Chamber to be generous in the application of the law. The Duc de Broglie spoke among the last, and said boldly *no* to the second question: "There is," said he, "no crime without any criminal intention; no treason without premeditation. I see, in the facts with which Marshal Ney is justly reproached, no premeditation, no intention of treason. He left with the intention of remaining faithful. At the last moment, he succumbed to a current which seemed to him general, and which unfortunately was so. It was a weakness which will be severely characterized by history, but which does not fall under the definitions of the law. There are, besides, events which, by their nature and their consequences, are out of the pale of human justice." The Duke says that after having spoken thus, "he owes it to the Chamber to say that the temerity and, he might even say, considering the times and the circumstances, the scandal of his first vote excited no exclamation nor murmur; and that, at the exit from the session, nobody avoided him, or showed him any ill will."

This memorable sitting of the House of Peers ended very late. The Duc de Broglie returned to his house, but could not sleep. He opened his window in the early morning, and saw an English battalion marching, with drums and music. "It was at this moment that Marshal Ney, whom the fire and the sword of the enemy had always spared, fell under twelve French balls. The general of these Englishmen, the true commander of Paris, at this lugubrious epoch, Wellington, could have hindered this sacrifice with one single word. It would have been better for his glory to have even forced the text of the Capitulation in favor of Ney, than to have done violence to the conscience of Louis XVIII. by imposing on him as minister a regicide Terrorist."

Mme. de Staël had meanwhile established herself at Pisa with her daughter, with Schlegel, and with M. Rocca, whose health was rapidly sinking. At the beginning of 1816 the Duc de Broglie left for Italy with the son of Mme. de Staël. His marriage with Mlle. de Staël was celebrated in February. There were two religious ceremonies; the Protestant service was read by an Irish clergyman named De Lacy, and one of the witnesses was an Englishman, familiarly called Bob Smith, the brother of Sydney Smith, who was staying in Pisa for the health of a daughter. Robert Smith had been the friend of Mr. Canning from childhood, and was deemed his superior. When he entered Parliament, it was thought that he would be a great Parliamentarian. When he rose for the first time he could not speak; he sat down, and never tried to speak again.

During his stay in Italy the Duc de Broglie became well acquainted with Sismondi. He saw the Countess of Albany, and Gonfalonieri, the hope and ornament of the Liberals in Italy, who afterwards paid for this honor by a long captivity in the prison of Spielberg. He stopped on his return at Coppet, on the Lake of Geneva, and took as much interest in the politics of the Canton of Geneva as if he had been a Swiss. He often saw at Coppet Lord Byron, then a voluntary exile, who was living on the lake with an Italian doctor named Polidori. He also became acquainted with the famous Stein, and with Gen. La Harpe, with Lord Lansdowne and Lord Brougham. He gives very vivid portraits of these personages. On his return to Paris he took his place in the House of Peers, and his political career fairly began.

Correspondence.

JOHN HARVARD. — AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have received a marked copy of No. 1084 of *The Nation*, containing an article contributed by "Z.," of Cambridge, Eng., entitled "John Harvard and his Ancestry: Notes on Mr. Waters," which seems to call for a reply. I will refer to its statements and criticisms in order.

If "Z." will take the pains to inquire of John T. Hassam, Esq., the Chairman of the Committee on English Research of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, he will learn that more than two years ago, or early in 1884, an attempt was made to examine the Records of St. Katharine's Hospital, with results similar to those which attended his own attempt.

As to the significance of the clause in the Probate Act of Thomas Harvard's will, reserving power of probate for his brother John "when he should come to seek it," let me say that I have seen too many Probate Acts with like clauses, not to be aware that it was a "set form," which, on the face of it, shows simply that "the other executor did not then prove." The fact, however, that, within a short time after the probate of this will, *our* John Harvard made his appearance in New England, seemed to me, and I think rightfully, to impart to the "set form," in this instance, a special significance, as furnishing the reason why "the other executor did not then prove," viz.: that he may have been crossing the ocean, or that, intending so to do, he knew that he could not properly attend to the business of settling the estate of his brother. At any rate, my notice of this clause and the explanation of the non-appearance of "the other executor," which suggested itself at once to my mind, led to the discovery of John Harvard. From the extract from the letter of the late Col. Chester, published in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* of 1882 (p. 319), we may draw the reasonable inference that he had made this problem a matter of study: an inference which I have had confirmed by the positive testimony of one of his intimate friends, the Rev. Frederick Brown, whose loss the antiquarian world has had so recently to deplore. I will venture to assert that if Col. Chester had chanced to see this will of Thomas Harvard (hidden from a special search by a faulty index), so keen an investigator would not have failed to be struck by the significance of the "set form" in this instance, and would never have rested until he had solved the problem. He would have zealously

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sought for every reference to these Southwark Harvards. He would have reëxamined and scrutinized with especial care the will of the father. He would have noticed the intimate relation which Richard Yearwood bore to the family, and would have most assuredly hunted for the will of that trusted friend of the Harvards. Finding that, he would have noted the significance of one little sentence in the bequests of the testator to his wife Katherine: "And I do further give unto her all such household stuff and so much value in plate as she brought with her when I married her." A genealogist of his large experience would have noticed this almost "set form" instantly; and instantly these questions would have suggested themselves: Was not this Katherine the testator's second wife? Was she not a widow when he married her? If so, whose? May she not have been the widow of his old friend Robert Harvard? I do not know how much experience "Z." has had; but, for myself, I can say that I never read such a bequest as "I give my wife such household stuff as she brought with her on our marriage," that the second of the questions above does not arise in my mind. I fully believe, therefore, that Col. Chester would have tried to find the will of Katherine Yearwood, if she made one; and, finding it, would have settled the question of the parentage of John Harvard. It seems to me clear that the interest he took in the subject only needed such a stimulus as that clause of reservation in the probate of Thomas Harvard's will to hurry him forward to the discovery, perhaps years ago.

Reserving for the present the consideration of errors in the text, I come to the matter of the excerpt from the records of the Clothworkers' Company, for which "Z." is entitled to my thanks and the commendation of all interested in the history of the Harvard family. Crowded with work as I was, and pressed for time, I simply held it in reserve (the story of Harvard's family and ancestry is not yet finished by any means). I could guess beforehand the nature of the genealogical evidence it would furnish, and knew just where to lay my hand on it when it should be needed. If the mother's will had not turned up, "Z." may feel quite sure this would have been presented in my first contribution, and relied upon as evidence to show that Thomas and John Harvard were sons of Robert. The mother's will found, this was not so necessary. I suppose, however, it will yet appear (subject to the decision of the Committee); only "Z.," I trust, will not think it strange if my copy differs a little from his.

Then follow two rather singular criticisms. First, as to the induction of John Sadler, the father, at Ringmer, he says: "Mr. Waters appears here to be mixing up the two separate acts of induction and institution." I derived my first information on this point from the MSS. of the well-known Sussex antiquary, Sir William Burrell, who wrote "Ind.," which I ventured to "extend," to quote an expression used by "Z." Further research proved Burrell to be right.

Second, in regard to John Sadler, the son, Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge, my statement, gathered from a well-known book, to which I referred, is thus criticised: "This statement can only have been made in ignorance of the facts." It seems to me that the charge of ignorance applies to Le Neve and not to me.

My omission of *uno* (!) before *executorū* and the error (!) of *petitur* for *petitum* remain to be considered. For calling my attention to the former, "Z." has my thanks. I find, on looking back, that I had already noticed this omission. I hope "Z." will pardon me if I suggest that the omitted word, in the present instance, is *unius*, and not, as he suggests, *uno*. As to the error of *petitur* for *petitum*, I must very decidedly take issue with "Z." In my reading of some thousands of English wills I must have seen some scores (I may say hundreds) which contained in the Probate Acts the "set form" to which "Z." refers, and I do not believe I have ever seen *petitum* or anything but *petitur*. I do not feel called upon to enter the lists as champion for the clerks who chose to employ the future active participle rather than the supine in "um" after the verb of motion, to express intention. I simply note the fact that they did so choose and I but followed copy. I did not even "extend" the original into *petiturus*, as probably "Z." would have done; although I cannot say that I have any serious objections to make to that, provided that due care be taken, *e. g.*, if the character ꝑ is to be extended, the context should be carefully examined, and the sense should determine whether it be extended into "par" or "per." To give examples—ꝑtem would be *partem*, nuꝑ would be *nuper*, and ꝑ *octo annos* would be *per octo annos*.

HENRY F. WATERS.

LONDON, ENGLAND, May 8, 1886.

COLLEGIATE ALUMNÆ.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A recent number of the *Nation* contained the review of a work describing life in an Eastern college, and conclusions were drawn from the book regarding the progress made in the collegiate education of women. If these conclusions are based solely on the books that have as yet appeared intended to describe the college life of women, they are unfortunately correct—the opportunities presented for higher education have simply prolonged for four years the period of boarding-school life. But the great majority of college alumnæ have not been inclined to write novels and romances, and while they feel it is only natural that the general public should derive its impressions from the works of those who have, they also feel that these books present as unfaithful a picture of the aims and work of the average college woman as do the current newspaper comments on athletics at Harvard and Yale of the intellectual life of these institutions.

The time is yet too short for them to point to many great results to substantiate their position, but beginnings have been made which it is hoped will put their work before the public in a truer light. In 1882 an organization was perfected in Boston of the alumnæ resident in the East of the thirteen leading co-educational and women's colleges, and it now enrolls 450 members. In 1883 a similar association was formed in Chicago of Western alumnæ; its present membership being eighty. Branch organizations have been established in all the leading cities East and West, where local meetings are held in addition to the annual meetings of the parent organizations. It is believed that these two societies fairly represent the aims of the college women of this country.

One purpose of the associations has been to investigate all questions affecting the higher education of women, and by scientific methods to enforce the theories of those advocating such education. The two objections most frequently urged against the advanced training of women are, first, that they are physically incapable of it; and, second, that it will be detrimental to the best interests of society by withdrawing women from domestic life. The first subject undertaken by the Eastern Association was an inquiry into the effect of collegiate education upon the physical condition of women. Elaborate statistics were collected by the Association, and afterwards compiled by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor. It was the wish of those engaged in the work that these facts should speak for themselves, and the general attention that has been called to them, and the conclusions derived from them by the thinking public, they feel have not been unfavorable to the cause.

A glance at the work already accomplished and at what has been begun will indicate the thought of the Association in regard to the second objection made. Among the first plans of the Eastern Association was the formation of a club for the study of the various phases of household sanitary science. Practical investigation was made of the subject of drainage, plumbing, ventilation, etc., a bibliography was prepared, the results of the studies made were put in circulation, and material aid given to others outside of the society on this important but neglected subject. Careful study has also been made of the opportunities for work open to women who have others dependent upon them for support, but who are prevented by domestic duties from seeking salaried positions. It is believed that important assistance has been given in the information collected and distributed concerning horticulture, silk culture, bread-making, fruit-canning, and other domestic professions. Again, it has been the aim of the Western Association to make inquiries concerning the training of women in household science. They have no desire to revolutionize society in any way, but they realize that hap-hazard ways often prevail in many households; that while much has been done to open new lines of work to woman, but little has been done to improve her work in those fields that have always been considered by the opponents of higher education for women legitimately hers. Plans have therefore been perfected to make extended inquiries into the advantages afforded for the industrial education of women, to consider the practical results of what has already been done, and to devise the ways and means for giving further help on this much-vexed question.

In the line of purely scholastic work, clubs have been formed among the members for the study of political science, art, local history, and kindred subjects. With the hope of still further stimulating the desire among women for sound scholarship, the Western Association has recently taken steps to secure the establishment of a fellowship open to women. But two colleges as yet offer such privileges, and it is earnestly believed that greater opportunities in that direction would be as productive of good results as has been the establishment of fellowships at Harvard and Johns Hopkins.

Other subjects have been considered by the associations, but it is hoped that the above will be considered indicative of an earnest desire on the part of college-trained women to prove "that the college course is not looked upon merely as an experience of the past, or as a means of securing a livelihood, but as a preliminary training which leads to a broad sympathy and ready co-operation with the interests of society."—Respectfully, M.

May 27, 1886.

NATIONAL DIFFERENCES OF LANGUAGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The unpretending little volume on French-English Pseudo-Synonyms, which you mentioned the other day in your Notes, is interesting not only in itself, but from the avenues of thought it leads into, but does not itself pursue. One of these is of the difficulties of translation and its frequent errors, to the consideration of which you have lately given so much space; and Mr. Attwell's illustrations of the subject are excellently to the point—both his quotation from an English newspaper to the effect that Père Hyacinthe had remarked that the cross had been *brutally* ("brutalement") removed from the Pantheon, and his reference to a mistake in an English

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translation of a French sketch of peasant life in Russia, where "the sacred images in his humble room" were spoken of. This is a perfect example of how inaccurate a literal translation may be. "Image" in French may be *image* in English; but it is also *picture*, and that must be its meaning in such a connection, since sacred images are not permitted by the Greek Church. Mr. Attwell's personal reminiscence is amusing, of "hearing a well-informed man state as a grave fact, that it was the custom of the faithful, and even of Protestant visitors, to kiss the Pope's mule [slipper] while the Holy Father gave his blessing seated on the docile animal." His delusion might well have been supported by the Provençal "dicton," of which Daudet has made so diverting a story—"Cet homme-là, méfiez-vous! il est comme la mule du pape, qui garde sept ans son coup de pied."

But another class of thoughts which this book suggests is of the qualities of national character evidenced by the presence or absence of certain words in a language. Do not glance on at my next sentence, fearing lest the everlasting old "home" and "chez soi" is about to flow from my pen! No; my few trifling illustrations—most of them drawn from Mr. Attwell—are connected with political or legal rather than social phraseology.

"No French word," says Mr. Attwell, "renders at all closely the sense of the English noun 'bribe'": *présent à corrompre*, one must say clumsily, or use *appât*, which is far away. For our verb they have *suborner*, *corrompre*, *gagner*, *acheter*, not conveying precisely the same idea. Yet one would suppose it difficult to write history intelligibly—whether Roman, English, or French (we will not speak of American)—without a word expressing "bribery" as well as "corruption." I am reminded of a conversation between Dr. Whateley and M. De Beaumont, which is reported in one of Sir Charles Lyell's letters, when De Beaumont said: "Then you have another word, 'job,' which we cannot translate; it is a sublime word that—God knows we have the *thing*." It is curious that the English "bribe" is derived directly from the French *bribe*, and acquired its own meaning probably from the fact that the French word, meaning originally a "hunk" of bread, came to mean a piece of bread given to a beggar. For the last hundred and fifty years and more (through the signification of "broken victuals," "scraps") it has been used, in the plural, almost as a synonym of "citations," quotations; or, more exactly, for fragments of conversation or of books.

Again: "No French word represents *trespass*, in the sense of unlawful passing over a boundary of land; this offence is expressed by the phrase *violation de propriété*." *Trépasser* (from which trespass is derived) retains, from the Latin *transpassare*, only the figurative meaning 'to pass from life to death,' 'to die,' and the noun *trépas* is never made use of save in a highly poetic style; though in legal phrase "the deceased" may be *le trépassé*. It is evident that Frenchmen do not allow "trespassing on my grounds," and consequently have no word for it.

A word the signification of which we might do well to adopt from the French is *dilapidation*, used for "squandering of public revenues." Our "dilapidation" is in French *délabrement*; but we could easily retain our present use, and add to it the figurative use, which is in accordance with the Latin derivation and is admirably suggestive.

These remarks might be indefinitely extended; but I have said enough to show the interest that attaches to such observations. * *

Notes.

We have received advance sheets of Gen. J. C. Frémont's 'Memoirs of My Life,' an elaborate work in which "the Pathfinder" will dwell particularly on his Western explorations and the seizure of California; the Presidental campaign of 1856; and his war experience—the last two divisions being in the nature of a vindication. Mrs. Frémont contributes a sketch of the life of her father, Senator Benton, in connection with Western expansion. The full-page steel engravings are a pleasant reversion to an almost obsolete style of illustration. The narrative cannot fail to command a high degree of interest, and may not improbably revive old controversies while rectifying current errors. The publishers are Belford, Clarke & Co., Chicago and New York.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. announce an entirely new and complete edition (in two sizes of paper) of the writings of Longfellow, including his translation of Dante, in eleven volumes. The various readings of the poems will be recorded in footnotes, as well as the dates of composition and publication, for which the recently published biography affords invaluable data. Indexes will be given where convenient. There will be several portraits on steel. The large-paper edition will be limited to 500 copies. Delivery will begin in September.

Upon the completion of Mr. Lodge's edition of Hamilton's works, now near at hand, G. P. Putnam's Sons will undertake a new and complete but limited edition of the works of Benjamin Franklin, edited by Mr. John Bigelow, in ten volumes, uniform with the Hamilton. The Autobiography will be printed from the original MS. now in possession of Mr. Bigelow, who will also avail himself of the Stevens collection recently acquired by our Government. It is hoped to make this an *édition définitive*.

D. Appleton & Co. announce a 'Centennial History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York, 1785-1885,' prepared by General Wilson, and freely illustrated; 'Earthquakes and Other Earth Movements,' by Prof. John Milne, of the Tokio College of Engineering; and two volumes in a new "International Education Series," viz.: 'The Philosophy of Education,' by Dr. J. K. F. Rosenkranz, of Königsberg; and 'A History of Education,' by Prof. F. V. N. Painter, of Roanoke College, Va. Dr. Wm. T. Harris edits the series.

An educational novelty is promised in July by Ginn & Co., 'A Beginner's Book in French,' by Sophie Doriot, "with comic illustrations."

A new and enlarged edition of Prof. W. O. Crosby's 'Common Minerals and Rocks' is promised by D. C. Heath & Co.

Roberts Bros. have brought out a fresh edition of Miss M. F. Rossetti's 'Shadow of Dante,' first published in 1872. Time has not, we believe, impaired the value of this guide and key to the 'Divine Comedy.' The same publishers have added 'Eugénie Grandet' to their series of translations from Balzac.

Mr. F. M. Crawford's 'Mr. Isaacs,' as the first issue in Macmillan's Summer Reading Series, in paper covers, makes a very attractive appearance.

To their "Traveller's Series" G. P. Putnam's Sons have added Hood's 'Up the Rhine,' with the author's illustrations.

It is evident from the third edition of Mr. Charles Eyre Pascoe's 'London of To-Day' (Boston: Roberts Bros.) that this unconventional guide-book is not to be fettered in improvement by stereotype plates. The changes from last year's issue are very numerous; there are forty-three chapters in place of forty-seven, filling, however, the same number of pages; the arrangement of topics as of cuts has been freely altered; many of the illustrations are new; everywhere one sees fresh matter, as, under Theatres, the visit of Mr. Daly's company from New York. Mr. Pascoe, introducing the tourist to shops and hotels, does not always seem disinterested, but we are not prepared to say that any one will suffer by being biassed by him. His next improvement ought to be an index.

'Through the Yellowstone Park on Horseback,' by George W. Wingate (O. Judd Co.), is the story of a party of ladies and gentlemen who made a most enjoyable trip through the National Park by wagon and saddle, camping along the roadside. Those contemplating a journey to the Yellowstone, and knowing no more about the country than they do about Africa, as was the case with our author before leaving home, may find this book entertaining reading. As a guide-book, however, it cannot be highly recommended. The party were in the Park only ten days, and managed to pick up a good deal of misinformation from stage-drivers and self-appointed guides who, apparently, were also making for the first time a trip through Wonderland. A chapter on the Mammoth Springs is singularly faulty in its statements. Yellowstone and Shoshone Lakes, Mount Washburn, the Gallatin Mountains, the Fossil Forest, and the charming country between the Mammoth Springs and Yancey's were unvisited. That it is possible to make such excursions without too great expenditure of time and money is clearly shown by the author.

We have received Rowell's 'American Newspaper Directory' for 1886, a volume of nearly 2,000 pages which is not unwieldy, and is, as usual, a very handsome specimen of typography. Of the many works of its class it stands incontestably at the head. So far as our observation extends, it has always been free from traces of axe-grinding, and has endeavored in good faith to obtain and publish the exact truth concerning the newspapers which it catalogues with exhaustive details. This spirit is not met half way by all newspaper proprietors—for reasons not far to seek.

Our readers have already made the acquaintance of the *Southern Bivouac* by our occasional comments upon its monthly bill of fare. It is a literary and historical magazine published at Louisville (B. F. Avery & Sons), and if on its literary side it is relatively weak, its historical articles (principally in connection with our civil war) have had and still have a very considerable value, and can by no means be neglected in the mass of military reminiscence now so much in vogue in our Northern periodicals. Maps, portraits, and other illustrations of good quality have been liberally employed by the editors, Messrs. Basil W. Duke and R. W. Knott. These remarks have been suggested by the completed and bound volume, No. 1 of the new series, now before us. The page is comely and the print excellent. We speak under correction, which we do not anticipate, when we say that the *Southern Bivouac* represents the high-water mark of Southern periodical literature in our day. This volume was worth a fuller index.

Mr. John Oldcastle's record of the life of 'The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster' (Catholic Publication Society) from the time of the Gorham judgment in 1850, which determined Manning to join the Catholic Church, has an iconographic value that may be pointed out here. There are no fewer than five portraits of Manning, from early childhood to the present year.

The reprinting from the Report of the Michigan State Board of Health for 1885 of Mr. Erwin F. Smith's paper upon the 'Influence of Sewerage and Water Supply on the Death-rate in Cities,' read before the Sanitary Convention at Ypsi-

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lanti last July, gives the opportunity for wider circulation of a very elaborate, careful, and valuable document. The author disclaims presenting anything new. In the sense of bringing to light some new ultimate fact, that may be true; but he has correlated so much, and has done it so well, that his work has a much greater value than the mere setting forth of something not before known. The paper, which is supported by more than thirty tables and is illustrated by several graphic charts, discusses especially the association of cholera, typhoid fever, and diphtheria with good and bad sewerage; the rates of sickness and mortality; the economic value of men sick and well, and the possibility of increasing the world's wealth-making power and of diminishing its ill-health and suffering by engineering agencies. The mere money waste by typhoid fever alone the author fixes, using a very low estimate, at $25,000,000 for the United States year by year. Diphtheria he does not regard as especially related to sewers.

The amiable if not very strong features of General Master Workman Powderly seem to have been well caught in the life-size lithographic profile sent us by J. H. Bufford's Sons, 293 Broadway.

No. 21 of the *Bibliographical Contributions* of the Library of Harvard University is a quinquennial continuation of a corresponding list published in 1881, which covered the publications of the University and its officers for the decade 1870-1880. We now have in sixty-two pages the publications for 1880-1885, together with the chief publications relating to the University. The fecundity of Mr. C. F. Adams, jr.'s "College Fetish" is shown in the large number of pamphlets and articles which it evoked; and the student of the question will find in these lists a pretty exhaustive guide to the current literature of the controversy over Greek (and the classics generally) in education. We may notice also the bibliography and phyllography—to coin a word signifying lists of newspaper and periodical articles—of John Harvard, and of the Elective System and College Discipline.

Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, London, will sell on July 1 the second portion of the late Henry Stevens's Historical Collections relating to America. Copies of the catalogues can be obtained of the *Bookmart* Publishing Co., Pittsburgh, Pa., and of C. C. Soule, 26 Pemberton Square, Boston. It contains an index to 603 numbers, good as far as it goes, but with a geographical classification mainly. Mr. Stevens's own works are embraced in Nos. 491-521, the last being his 'Recollections of Mr. James Lenox,' just from the press.

Our American periodical indexes are beginning to have foreign imitators. Last year in Russia was issued a systematic table of articles contained in twelve leading reviews from 1830 to 1884; and Italy has just published a 'Catalogo metodico degli Scritti contenuti nelle Publicazioni periodiche italiane e straniere,' of which the first part, "Scritti biografici e critiche," has 534 pages, and 17,209 entries taken from 241 reviews. At the end is an index of authors.

The unfortunate Count Porro and his junior associate, Prof. Licata, slain in Harrar, are commemorated with portraits in *L'Illustrazione Italiana* for May 9, as is also the late Dr. Agostino Bertani, the eminent friend of Garibaldi and his companion in the field. Noteworthy, too, are numerous engravings from photographs of Mandalay, furnished by the Italian physician to King Theebaw.

Mr. Wm. R. Jenkins has begun his promised series of "Novelle Italiane" with the 'Alberto' of Edmondo De Amicis. English notes have been added by Prof. T. E. Comba. The eighth of Mr. Jenkins's "Contes Choisis" is 'Les Fiancés de Grinderwald' and 'Les Amoureux de Catherine,' by Erckmann-Chatrian.

The second volume of M. G. Vapereau's 'Eléments d'histoire de la littérature française' (Paris: Hachette; Boston: Schoenhof) makes a very good text-book of elementary literary history, biographical notices, and well-chosen extracts from the principal French writers of the seventeenth century. The author has in many cases merely reproduced parts of his very useful 'Dictionnaire des Littératures,' taking care, however, to present his subject in a more didactic manner, and omitting all that would tend to lessen the value of the work as a manual in the schoolroom. There is, for such an elementary work, rather a display of erudition, in the long lists of "works to be consulted" appended to every biographical and literary notice; but in this M. Vapereau seems only to be following the fashion which makes of many school-books works fitted rather for teachers' guides than for scholars' manuals.

The more important papers in M. Octave Uzanne's 'Nos Amis les Livres: causeries sur la littérature curieuse et la librairie' (Paris: Quantin) are those recording his personal recollections of the late Paul Lacroix, those indicating the hitherto uncollected writings of Baudelaire, and those describing the strange career of Jules Vallès. The tenth chapter is a lively study of "Le Livre à Paris." The seventh is a discussion of the many books which the police have seized, generally for good reason. It is to be noted that, although M. Uzanne himself writes cleanly and without offence, he betrays a certain hankering for the books which every gentleman's library should be without. 'Nos Amis les Livres' is beautifully printed in a limited edition of 1,065 copies only, and is illustrated with an inexpensive frontispiece—an etching by M. H. Manesse. There is an outline of an index, if we may so call it, altogether insufficient.

As M. Jules Claretie, now the manager of the Comédie-Française, has had to resign his position on the *Temps*, the 'Vie à Paris, 1885' is the last volume of his collected *chroniques* which we are likely to have for a long time. In the six volumes to which the series extends, the historian of the future will find a clever, brilliant, and honest record of life in Paris in the years 1880-5, much good criticism, many neatly turned anecdotes, an abundance of personal reminiscence, and a great variety of odds and ends of amusing information. Of especial interest in this volume are recollections of Edmond About and Victor Hugo.

The *Bulletin* of the Cercle Saint-Simon gives the programme of a forthcoming "audition de musique et chant de l'époque révolutionnaire" before the members of this active historical society—we believe, the second concert of its kind, the first having been folk-songs. The words of three of the choruses are printed in advance, ladies participating in these, as well as singing some of the solos.

Fifty years ago saw the beginning, under the auspices of Heinrich Berghaus, of physical atlases of the globe, and the name, of good right, remains at the head of the wholly new edition just begun by Justus Perthes (New York: Westermann)—'Berghaus' Physikalischer Atlas,' edited, with the aid of six eminent specialists, by Prof. Dr. Hermann Berghaus. The three maps of the first instalment are a pleasure to the eye and to the understanding. They represent the Mediterranean and Black Sea, with upwards of twenty side-maps; the isothermal lines; the flora of Europe—all in lively and harmonious coloring.

It will be remembered that Prof. Otto Keller's theory of the construction of the Saturnian verse ('Der Saturn. Vers als rhythmisch erwiesen,' Leipzig, 1883) was attacked with bitterness by Lucian Müller ('Der Saturn. Vers und seine Denkmäler,' Leipzig, 1885), whose apparently crushing arguments hinted at the danger in presuming to enter a field which he considered his own. Others, as well as Prof. Müller, still stoutly maintain that

"Dabunt malum Metelli Naevio poetae"

was the metrical prototype of such a line as

"The queen was in her parlor, eating bread and honey."

Prof. Keller has, however, lately published a second essay (Prague, 1886) in rejoinder to Müller. His examination of this difficult subject is rather too technical for anything short of a philological journal; but to students of the classics we commend his most interesting and scholarly answer.

The University of Pennsylvania has recently established a limited number of unendowed post-graduate fellowships in political science and history. Graduates of any American college, either in arts or science, are eligible. Opportunities for advanced study will be open free of charge to the holders of these fellowships. Applications and testimonials should be sent to Prof. E. J. James, University of Pennsylvania, West Philadelphia.

—It became evident to the friends of the reciprocity copyright bill, upon the first day of the hearing before the Senate Committee on Patents, that Mr. Hawley had determined to abandon the bill, which, though introduced by him, he was careful to explain was really drawn up by the Authors' International Copyright League. The Senator's sensitiveness concerning the application of the term "pirates" to persons who make a business of republishing foreign books without paying the authors—who in doing so, according to Mr. Hawley, only "publish what they have a perfect legal right to publish"; his reading of selections from the tariff law showing what protection book-manufacturers now enjoy, only to admit that he favored a legislative enactment requiring that foreign books, in order to be copyrighted here, must be printed in this country; and his defence of the prohibition of importation, together with his anxiety to say something to promote a harmonious support of some bill "satisfactory to all," could not fail to convince his hearers that, from a defender of the simple *right* of authors, he had been converted into the anxious champion of *protection* for paper-makers, binders, compositors, stereotypers, printers—every one (but the author) employed in the production of a book. It was therefore no surprise when the Committee reported, not the "Hawley" bill, but Senator Chace's bill, which also had been referred to it, January 21. The amendments in the reported bill (many of them mere verbal corrections) are not such as change the intent of the measure; the most important being the striking out of the clause in the original bill which enacted that the copyright upon a foreign work should be void in case the American manufacturer abandoned the publication of it—in other words, that the very tort suffered by the author in his publisher's breach of contract should give occasion to the legal confiscation of his entire property!

—The bill as now presented to the Senate provides for such amendment of the chapter of the Revised Statutes relating to copyrights as will extend all its provisions to the works of foreign authors, provided the name of each book or other article copyrighted shall be recorded in the office of the Librarian of Congress not later than the day of publication in the country of origin, and that two copies of the best edition printed in the United States shall be deposited in the same office within three months after recording the title, from which date, until the expiration of the copyright, the importation of other editions is prohibited, and collectors of customs and postmasters are authorized to seize all copies received at the custom-houses or post-offices. But the copyright obtained for a translation does not

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give the right to exclude the original work for which no American copyright has been secured. The fee for recording the title is one dollar, and is to defray the expenses of lists of articles copyrighted to be prepared by the Librarian of Congress (who is authorized to employ an additional clerk for this purpose), and to be printed by the Secretary of the Treasury, at intervals of not more than a week, for distribution to collectors of customs and postmasters, and also to such persons as may subscribe for them at a sum not exceeding five dollars per annum. Each number of a periodical is considered an independent publication, subject to separate copyright, and so, also, each volume of a book, provided the volumes are published at different times and "the first one shall not have been issued before this act shall take effect"; and it seems intended, too, to provide that *revised editions* of books heretofore published, if issued after the act goes into force, may obtain a copyright, "unless they form part of a series in course of publication at the time this act shall take effect." But the wording of section 4 is not quite plain. The two clauses which we have quoted are amendments, and seem to have been interpolated for the express purpose of preventing the proprietors of the 'Encylopedia Britannica,' and consequently all the authors concerned in its production, from availing themselves of the benefits which it is the purport of the bill to grant to English authors—a most unjust discrimination. The final section enacts that the bill shall go into effect July 1, 1887.

—One of the most curious perversions of history of which the late Henry C. Carey was guilty—and he was guilty of a good many—was in his notion that the decay of Ireland was to be traced to "British free trade." This idea of the high-priest of the protectionists has been cherished by his disciples, and turns up frequently in their denunciations of the unutterable greed and duplicity of Great Britain. Its basis, of course, is in the vicious policy of protection and mercantilism which Great Britain followed in the eighteenth century in regard not only to Ireland, but to the American colonies and all the rest of the world. No one defends that policy nowadays, and it has about as much pertinence to the protective controversy of the present day as the war of the Revolution has to our present relations with Great Britain. Nevertheless, our friends the protectionists very often hurl it in our teeth; and very naturally the Irish home-rulers charge it up in their list of the oppressions of the British. There is consequently some interest, over and above the purely historical interest, in finding out exactly what it is all about. Mr. W. Cunningham makes a valuable and interesting contribution to our knowledge of the subject in his article in the April number of the *English Historical Review*, on the Repression of the Woollen Manufacture in Ireland. He shows that the manufacture which was repressed by Parliament in 1698 and 1699, was a manufacture of cloths, chiefly broadcloths, called "draperies." It was carried on by the Protestants in Ireland, and had barely begun. A much more important and long-established industry, that of making friezes, was carried on by the Catholics. This was not interfered with at all; in fact, it was expressly excepted from the statutes. The Protestant cloth manufacture was repressed much more for political reasons than from any desire to check the economic development of Ireland. In any case, the industry was as yet insignificant, and its repression could have had but very slight effect. Of course no one can tell whether the industry, even if let alone, would have grown to any importance; probably it would not. The oppression, such as it was, was by the English in England on the English in Ireland. Thereby vanishes one of the grievances of Irish agitators; but as they have a good supply of others, the loss will not cause them much anxiety. Our protectionist anglers for the Irish vote might be more embarrassed by having one of their pet illustrations of the wickedness of Great Britain's commercial policy thus subjected to serious correction; for their stock of arguments is running low. But they will doubtless get over the difficulty by simply disregarding the results of a dry and prosaic historical investigation.

—M. Eugène Pellissier has put together a book of more than 400 pages, designed "for schools and candidates for public examinations," on 'French Roots and their Families' (Macmillan & Co.). The getting up of the book as to size, type, paper, binding, and general disposition does honor to its publishers; as to its practical utility there may be some question. There is just enough of etymology to make the learner wish for more if he is curious in such things, not enough to fix any scientific principles of derivations, and too much for one who only looks for a practical knowledge of words. There may be a certain utility in grouping together words of undoubted origin which mutually shed light on each other, but what advantage is it to the learner to put under *gueule*, on account of the Sanskrit *gar*, such words as *gargoter*, fr. root *garg=gorg; gargote, gargouille, gargouillis, gargamelle, gargariser, gargarisme*, etc.? And, besides, it may be doubted whether these words are all of the same family. Nor are the etymologies given always to be fully relied on. The writer has a tenderness for Greek and Sanskrit roots, and in this direction he may be misleading. Thus, for *nantir* he gives Low Latin *namium*, Greek *νέμω*, and there are many such etymologies given, with generally a Sanskrit root added, which ought to be verified by turning even to such elementary books as Scheler and Brachet. Even when the derivation may be relied on, it sometimes looks puzzling as given by M. Pellissier, thus: "*Tôt* (soon, early), L. *tostus* for *torstus*, fr. *torrere*, Scr. *tarsh*=to be dry." Evidently such criticism of the book as this could be carried on almost indefinitely, as the words given above were taken almost at haphazard. In spite of all this, 'French Roots and their Families' is not a useless book. It may, carefully controlled, be of real service in furnishing material to a teacher of French.

—The May number of the *Deutsche Rundschau* contains the conclusion of the notable series of articles on "Contemporary American Fiction," by Anton E. Schönbach. He devotes this chapter to the "realistic" school, as distinguished from the "analytical" discussed previously, and expends on the works of F. Marion Crawford and the politico-social novels 'Democracy,' 'Through One Administration,' 'The Breadwinners,' etc., a wealth of scholarly criticism hardly justified by their intrinsic importance, but in refreshing contrast to the ignorant flippancy displayed by so many foreign critics of things American. Judge Tourgée opens, somewhat strangely, the chapter on Southern novelists. Even his 'Fool's Errand,' Herr Schönbach says, shows the politician rather than the artist, and his other novels are severely dealt with. Cable naturally claims considerable space, and the description of the varied aspects of Southern life is steeped in colors as rich as Cable's own. Full justice is likewise done to "Uncle Remus," to whose stories the writer assigns not only a high literary but a distinct ethnographic value. He is scarcely less lavish in his praise of "Charles Egbert Craddock." Many delicate touches reveal Herr Schönbach's thorough familiarity with the lesser literary lights of the past and present, the allusion to Edmund Quincy as "the American Steub" being a case in point. That his fondness for our literature has not disturbed the clearness of his critical vision is evinced by his comparison between American and German novelists, from which we transcribe a few sentences: "As a rule, American novelists give us too many interesting and too few simple characters. But in one respect they show their superiority, especially to us Germans—in their high technical finish. Such sins against the most elementary rules of novel writing as our principal story-tellers commit every day — defective exposition, failure to maintain the level, purposeless motives and episodes — are rare with them. Therefore the average American novel is superior to the average German one, and an intelligent reader may enjoy an English or American novel of fair quality without a sense of irritation, whereas one equally good by a native writer will excite his ire. This accounts for the fact that America, while possessing no novelist of the first rank, has several who are very near it."

—The May *Rundschau* contains still another article on an American subject, "The Californian Plain," by E. Reyer, the fourth of a series. Among the other contributions a particular interest attaches to Julian Schmidt's posthumous essay on "Leopold von Ranke," sent to the editor only twelve hours before the writer's death, and hardly published before Ranke, too, is taken away. Paul Heyse's one-act tragedy "Zwischen Lipp' und Bechersrand" ('Twixt the Cup and the Lip) is a painful surprise to those who have learned to associate the grace of Heyse's execution with good taste in the choice of subjects. The idea of a bride discovering on her wedding night that her husband had seduced her mother and killed her father, would have been spurned by at least the æsthetic sense of a Feuillet or a Dumas. Dr. von Gizycki, in "Letters on Modern Philosophical Literature," disposes of about thirty philosophical works, in a manner exemplified in his "review" of John Fiske's 'Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy': "The best-known representative of evolutionism in America is John Fiske, whose principal work, 'Cosmic Philosophy,' however, I have not yet read."

—Leopold von Ranke died on the 21st of May. On the 21st of last December he celebrated (or, rather, all Germany celebrated) the ninetieth anniversary of his birth. According to a discovery made by one of his relatives, a quarter of a century ago, in the church book of his native Thuringian village, that celebration ought to have taken place twenty-four hours earlier, but the historian ascribed greater authenticity to the traditions of his family than to the ecclesiastical record. Religious earnestness and love of truth and accuracy seem, in fact, to have been with Ranke family heirlooms, nor did they abandon him to his death. He was endowed with great strength both of body and mind, and what he achieved as a close student at the Gymnasium of Pforta was hardly less surprising than his efforts between the ages of eighty and ninety. Greek literature powerfully attracted him, but, after finishing his university studies at Leipzig, he devoted himself to historical research, combining with it theological, philological, and classical inquiry. Thucydides, Luther, Niebuhr, and Fichte he subsequently declared to have been his principal masters. In 1818 he was appointed professor at the Gymnasium of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and after publishing the first (and only) volume of his 'Geschichte der romanischen und germanischen Völkerschaften von 1494–1535' (1824) and 'Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtschreiber,' he became, in 1825, professor of history at the Univer-

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sity of Berlin. This position he held till his death, though interrupting his earlier professorial activity by years of research in the libraries and archives of Vienna, Venice, Florence, and Rome, preceded by discoveries of extraordinary interest in the collections of Berlin. Historiography from the original documentary sources, carried out with absolute objectiveness, with precision and clearness, though not without artistic grouping and due regard for relief and individuality, now became the task of his life and the ideal of a school of historians of which he is justly deemed the founder, though himself a disciple of Niebuhr, and in part also of Dahlmann. Giesebrecht, Sybel, Duncker, and Waitz (who died a few days after him) may be mentioned as his foremost followers. Dahlmann's friend, Gervinus, trod a different path, in which subjective and dogmatic illumination was a guiding consideration. Ranke at first concentrated his labors upon the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, producing successively 'Fürsten und Völker von Südeuropa im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert' (1827), 'Die römischen Päpste, ihre Kirche und ihr Staat im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert'—his masterwork—(1834–36), and 'Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation' (1839–40). To this field belong his later voluminous works, 'Französiche Geschichte,' etc., and 'Englische Geschichte,' etc., the 'Geschichte Wallenstein's,' and other writings. The history of the Prussian state, of which he was appointed historiographer by Frederic William IV., shortly after his accession to the throne, he treated in 'Neun Bücher preussischer Geschichte,' 'Zwölf Bücher preussischer Geschichte,' and 'Der Ursprung des Siebenjährigen Kriegs'; in biographies of Frederic the Great and Frederic William IV.; in 'Hardenberg und die Geschichte des preussischen Staats von 1793–1813' (1880–81), and several other publications. One of his early and most popular productions was his sketch of the Servian rising for independence, which he reissued in a revised form in 1879. Of his 'Weltgeschichte,' which he began as an octogenarian, and planned to embrace nine volumes, about one-half has appeared. He had, however, long ceased to work with his own hand and eyes, though continuing active, wide awake, and indefatigable to the last. In politics he was conservative. King William ennobled him and made him Chancellor of the order "*Pour le mérite*," as successor to Böckh.

—The difficulties of archæology and the uncertainty of its chronology were well shown by some fragments of a vase that was last autumn laid before the Academy of Inscriptions. Every French antiquary would have pronounced it prehistoric if it had been found alone, and yet it contained, when unearthed, coins struck as late as 181. Either the vase itself was a survival, or else vases of that type continued in use as cheap utensils long after the age in which they are supposed to have originated. M. Robert, who brought the matter before the Academy, mentioned a similar discovery, made in the Crimea during the war, of a house containing bronze coins of the ninth and tenth centuries, and among the domestic utensils various cutting instruments of polished stone, which, found alone, would surely be referred to the stone age. The fact is, as we have before insisted, that different states of civilization coexist. The poor continued to make use of primitive furniture and tools long after the rich could indulge in articles of art of a much higher civilization. It was not till machinery to make things cheaply arose that there came to be anything like uniformity in such matters. Now the rich are separated in the style (not of course in the material) of dress and furniture by only a few years, sometimes by only a few months. Formerly they were centuries apart.

NETTLESHIP'S ESSAYS.

Lectures and Essays on Subjects Connected with Latin Literature and Scholarship. By Henry Nettleship, M.A. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.

A GOODLY sheaf of papers, most of them published before in various forms, now gathered and dedicated to the memory of Mark Pattison. The volume shows nothing of the spirit of bold search for striking conclusions, but all the more for that it is a volume of solid merit, likely to guide the ambitious student in right directions, and likely to win the cordial respect of older scholars, who will often find that Prof. Nettleship has put with singular clearness and neat felicity of statement some well-ripened principle of criticism.

The range of fruitful studies in Latin scholarship to which these papers bear witness is very wide. A fitting keynote is struck in the opening tribute to the character and influence of Moritz Haupt. Nettleship, then already a mature student himself, heard lectures on the Epistles of Horace from this remarkable teacher in 1865. Many a foreigner at German universities must have had an experience analogous to his, which he thus describes:

"I may say without exaggeration that these lectures introduced me to a method of teaching which was wholly unknown at the time in Oxford, and perhaps in England. We learned in Oxford to read the classics, to translate them on paper, to think and talk about them, to write essays on them; but of the higher philology, of the principles and methods of textual criticism—in other words, of the way to find out what the classical writers really said—we were taught next to nothing. At least I can only say, speaking for myself, that although I was then beginning to write a commentary on parts of Vergil for Conington's edition, I had to instruct myself, with Conington's assistance, as it were piecemeal, and was without any general knowledge as to the kind of problems which might be expected to meet an editor in dealing with a classical author."

But Nettleship is perfectly aware that whatever of reproach there may be in these words, cannot fairly fall entirely to the charge of Oxford teachers—he doubts whether it can be said "that our average social and intellectual tone is seriously favorable to anything but the vigorous performance of tutorial duties, the preparation of candidates for examination." We fear there are not yet many teachers in America who find abundance of pupils willing to be taught the way to the sources for their information about the peoples and the literatures of antiquity. It is so much easier to commit to memory the teacher's opinion, to assume an air of modest submission to the higher competence of some great scholar. Nettleship treats Haupt's failings very gently, as indeed he ought; but he finds that he "must own to having experienced a feeling of weariness and repulsion at witnessing this castigation of the defenceless Orelli carried on for four days in the week during a period of three months."

Papers on "Early Italian Civilization" and on the "Earliest Italian Literature" treat of the linguistic and literary palæontology of the peninsula. They show abundant learning, candor, and caution, and are readable withal. The author decidedly rejects the notion of a Græco-Italian period, and seems to adopt Schmidt's view of the primitive relationships of the Indo-Germanic peoples. He declares that "to speak of the early Italians as having no original gift for literary creation is wholly misleading; as if the imaginative impulse could be implanted where it did not exist, or the gift of the Muses be borrowed like money." It can hardly be denied that there is justice in this protest, though the critic might perhaps fairly prefer to see the force with which it is put somewhat tempered.

Views original with our author are to be found, we believe, especially in the etymological notes to the two papers just mentioned; in the "Critical Miscellanies" at the end of the book; in the explanation of points which arise in Cicero's 'Pro Cluentio'; and in a series of discussions of which Verrius Flaccus is the principal subject, though Gellius, Nonius Marcellus, and Servius are also named in the titles. But such matters must be passed over lightly in these columns. One detail of etymology may be offered as an interesting specimen: the name Mars is connected with *marcus*, a hammer.

The three lectures on Horace treat of the Life and Poems, the 'De Arte Poetica,' and the Text in general. The author begins by admitting that "to attempt to say anything new about Horace may seem absurd." The critic is fairly bound to reply that these lectures prove abundantly that it is still possible to say things worth saying about Horace—things all the better worth saying because the only great novelty about them is in the skill with which they are put. The problem of the first lecture is to explain how it came that Horace won his place among the classics—to point out in him that earnestness of character which must in some way be the foundation of his greatness. The temptation here to quote freely is very strong—especially because, in the old controversy over the relative worth of Horace and Catullus, most lovers of poetry must find themselves vastly willing to be of both parties. We think the lovers of poetry are bound in the end, however, to accept this statement of the general verdict:

"Take two poets of equal powers of imagination and command of language, and let the one devote himself to the tale of his own loves and hatreds, while the other never loses sight of 'the wider scope,' of the great movement of events, of the larger interests of his fellow-men; and the style of the one, however luminous and intense, however great its command over the music of human passion, will be imperfect and fitful, while that of the other will rise to the height of his conception and become a beacon in literature. There is a moral element in the power which forms a great style; there is not only love of beauty and breadth of sympathy, but keenness of vision, ardor, courage, purity."

This, we take it, goes very near to the root of the matter. And yet—and yet; how true is the admission which follows in the next line, that the "Miser Catulle, desinas ineptire" would have been quite beyond the reach of Horace. But, after all, there must always be something of unfairness about any form of praise given to one poet at the expense of another who has in some different sort excelled. And—to quote this time from the shorter and much slighter essay on Catullus—"For all who can weep with those that weep, his poems are the transparent revelation of a pure, impassioned soul, of deep natural sincerity in love and hate, of commanding genius in expression."

Perhaps the very best of the book is to be found in the "Suggestions Introductory to a Study of the Æneid," first printed at the Clarendon Press in 1875. These suggestions are mainly devoted to the elaboration of an idea more sound than new, but surprisingly little prominent in the writings of many of those who write criticisms of Latin poetry—the idea that the mind and plan of Virgil had been profoundly influenced by the Greek tragedies. It would be well if the young reader who has been confused and persuaded into a gentle contempt for Virgil by all the talk about Apollonios Rhodios and about departures from Homer or borrowings from Homer, might always have at hand a sane monitor like Nettleship to clarify the confusion a little by suggesting the name of Sophocles. For we take it there will be little contempt for Virgil left

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when once the nature of his debt to the Greek drama has been fairly apprehended. But this is a book which deserves to be allowed to speak for itself, and with one more quotation we must leave it:

"The episode of Dido is worked out very much in the spirit of the Greek tragedy, the confused moral conflicts of which it thoroughly recalls. It is the struggle of individual passion against the will of Heaven that Vergil intends to represent; the kind of struggle represented in the 'Ajax' and the 'Trachiniæ' of Sophocles, where the loser loses and the winner wins without any end being served except the assertion of superior power. The real difficulty which a modern reader finds in realizing such situations is, that we are accustomed and expect to see the right prevail and the wrong beaten; but this is not the spirit of the Greek tragedy, where it seems as if the natural moral feelings were playing blindly around undiscovered centres, where the powers at work are not commensurate with our ideas of the powers of right and the reverse, and where the righteous issue, as we understand it, is only dimly discerned, if discerned at all, by the straining eye. Dido falls, like Ajax or Heracles, for no offence commensurate in our eyes with the punishment which comes upon her. Yet I think it is clear that Vergil has no intention of exciting such a sympathy with her fate as a modern reader necessarily feels, and as a modern writer, were he handling the story, would wish to excite. Æneas sins, not by leaving her, but by staying with her; the will of the gods once clear, he has, according to ancient ideas, no alternative."

GUATEMALA, PAST AND PRESENT.

Guatemala. Reisen und Schilderungen aus den Jahren 1878–1882. Von Otto Stoll, Dr. Med. und Docent an der Universität Zürich. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1886.

THE largest and most populous of the five republics which formerly made up the Central American Confederation is so far out of the ordinary line of travel that less is known of it than of any of the others. It is therefore satisfactory to have a thoroughly trustworthy account of this secluded land from a well-informed writer, who spent nearly five years as a resident and traveller in the country, and who is able to bring down his narrative of political events to the death of the late Dictator, Barrios. Dr. Stoll is favorably known by his previous work on the Ethnography of Guatemala ('Zur Ethnographie der Republik Guatemala,' Zürich, 1884), which was welcomed by ethnologists as furnishing the most complete and satisfactory account that had yet been given of the native tribes of that region. The present volume dwells to some extent on the same subject, and repeats with a few useful additions the excellent ethnographic map of the former work. But its scope is far more general. It comprises a narrative of travel; a history of the author's residence in different cities and towns; descriptions of the country and the various classes of inhabitants; sketches of society in all ranks; notes on education; reports and statistics relative to agriculture and commerce; and an account of the most important events in the recent history of the republic. Dr. Stoll is one of those thoroughly equipped observers of the well-known German stamp, of whom Alexander von Humboldt is the illustrious exemplar. He is a naturalist, an antiquarian, a student of sociology and political economy, and enough, but not too much, of a politician. His descriptions of men and places are evidently impartial, and are animated with a genial humor and cheerfulness which make him an agreeable travelling companion. His work well deserves translation, though for general reading some of the particulars, which would be valuable in a medical treatise, would need to be omitted.

Of the many topics treated in his work, two will particularly engage attention. These are the description of the population and the account of General Barrios. The two subjects are closely connected, the career of the Dictator being made possible solely by the character of the people. Of the 1,230,000 inhabitants enumerated by the census of 1880, about 850,000 were returned as belonging to the Indian race, and only 380,000 as of the Latin race. But the latter—the Ladinos, as they are styled—are nearly all of mixed origin. Of pure whites there are not more than 1,500 in the country, most of whom are emigrants from Europe and North America. There is a dash of negro blood among the Ladinos, but in the main they are the offspring of unions between the early Spanish settlers and the Indians. The Spanish invaders brought few women with them. It was an honor to the rude Spanish soldiery to mingle their blood with that of the ancient lords of the land. Thus there grew up a people of mixed race, noticeable for their slender but strong build, dark but clear complexion, full lips, black or brown eyes, and lustrous black hair. Of the natural capacity of this race the author expresses a high opinion.

"At present," he writes, "the Ladinos are the rulers of the country. The more numerous Indians are subject to them, and in their presence the pure white element disappears altogether. From the President to the stable-boy we find the Ladinos in all positions of life, as artisans, agriculturists, clergy, physicians, and lawyers; and it is certain that from this mingling of races there has sprung a most prolific and promising element: full of vitality and vigor, for which only the iron spur of necessity—a harder struggle for the means of subsistence—is needed to make it compete successfully with other races in the most widely varied pursuits. The young Ladino child is wonderfully quick-witted; but the school of life in that thinly-peopled land is not yet severe enough to bring this good talent to its full maturity."

On the other hand, Dr. Stoll found the Indians decidedly superior in moral qualities to the Ladinos, and especially much more faithful and trustworthy. According to his personal experience—and few can have had better opportunities of judging—"the Indian of Guatemala is in point of character a man of far better stamp than the Ladino." This testimony of an impartial observer need not surprise us if we recall to mind the fact that these Indians are mostly of that fine Maya race whose social organization and artistic endowments were displayed in the splendid cities and the many carved and lettered monuments which their rude Spanish conquerors destroyed or left to perish. Between these two races there is a great gulf, with opposing walls of language, tradition, custom, and sentiment, which nothing as yet, not even religion or patriotism, has been able to bridge over. The Indians, in their confidential intercourse with the author, did not disguise their confident hope of rising some day to overthrow the Ladinos and the foreigners, and regain the government of the country. It was to this feeling that the Indian President, Carrera, by whom the Central American Confederation was broken up, owed his success. And, strange to say, his latest successor in the Dictatorship, Barrios, though belonging to the opposite political party, was indebted to the same sentiment and partisanship for his exaltation and maintenance in power. He had been lucky enough in early life to secure the adhesion of the Indians, who looked upon him as their destined deliverer, and clung to his fortunes to the last—much as the peasantry of France clung to those of the first Napoleon.

The portrait of this remarkable man, which is given in the volume, shows a decidedly Napoleonic cast; and the like stamp was exhibited in his character and career, so far as the very different theatre of action would allow. Beginning as a military leader of the humblest grade, and seizing his opportunities during the civil wars which disturbed the country, he worked his way up to a position which enabled him to grasp the supreme power. He then displayed all the qualities which we are accustomed to contemplate in the biography of his great prototype. A boundless ambition, intense activity, a crafty diplomacy, utter disregard of all rights that interfered with his plans, unrelenting severity toward his opponents, a lavish hand for his followers, a love of flattery and a cynical contempt for his flatterers, were notable traits in his character. Coarse, hard, licentious, domineering, and vindictive, he yet had certain qualities which extorted admiration and even respect. Though a tyrant, he never forgot or disowned the principles of that Liberal party of which he had in early life been the champion. He kept up the forms of free government, with the evident idea that at some future time they would become realities. He was ardently patriotic, and eager for the improvement of his country. His favorite project, which he had partly accomplished, was the completion of a railway extending from the Pacific, through his capital, to the Bay of Honduras; and to carry this out he resorted, after his fashion, to the most arbitrary exactions, which could have been of no personal benefit to himself. His purpose of restoring the old confederation, if dictated partly by personal ambition, had in it a large grasp of statesmanship. With his restless and persistent energy, he might have succeeded in the end. Yet his death in the first battle of the war could not, on that account, be deemed a public misfortune. His faults of character made him utterly unfit for the difficult position of a chief of a confederacy; nor were the States which he sought to reunite yet ripe for the measure. While the majority of their people are Indians, belonging to many different tribes, utterly alien to one another, and speaking more than twenty distinct languages, no permanent union can be hoped for. The time will come when the Spanish language and Spanish-American customs and habits of thought, which are steadily extending, will prevail throughout those States, and will prove an irresistible force of mutual attraction. The same force will draw all these smaller provinces toward the Mexican Republic; and probably the next half century will see one great confederation extending from the southern border of the United States to the Isthmus, under a firm constitutional government. The work of Dr. Stoll, careful in its statements and unflattering in its pictures of the present condition of affairs, gives yet, in its clear and faithful descriptions of the country and the people, ample warrant for previsions of a better future.

Triumphant Democracy: or Fifty Years' March of the Republic. By Andrew Carnegie. Scribner & Sons.

IF any one has been reading Sir Henry Maine on 'Popular Government,' and feels depressed by the somewhat gloomy forebodings of that distinguished *laudator temporis acti*, we recommend to him the present work, to see if he cannot imbibe something of its exuberant joy. Judging from internal evidence, we should say that the writer, a Scotchman, had passed his life up to manhood under narrow circumstances at home, and then, coming to this country, had stepped at once into success, found his way smooth and prosperous, with the prospect of abundant provision for his declining years, and for his children; and all this, in the intoxicating atmosphere of equality, producing effects similar to the physical ones which foreigners on their first visit ascribe to our climate. Without doubt there are many thousands of such instances, and it is to be hoped that they all share, in some degree at least, the

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feeling expressed in the following, which is the key-note of the book:

"To the Beloved Republic I dedicate this Book, with an intensity of Gratitude and Admiration which the native-born citizen can neither feel nor understand."

It is to be feared that Mr. Matthew Arnold would regard the author as an unmitigated Philistine. He is an undisguised worshipper of material success, and delights in big figures. He loves to tell how small things were fifty years ago, and into what splendor they have since blazed out. For his flights of imagination take this as a sample: "Last year she (Chicago) received nearly two million cattle, a million sheep, and five million hogs—more than twenty-five thousand animals per day. So that there marches into Chicago every day in the year—Sundays and Saturdays included—a procession of victims two miles and a-half long, ten animals abreast." "Spread-eagleism" used to be considered as a specialty of the native American, but here is a foreigner who out-Herods Herod. And yet, so far as the material side is concerned, there is perhaps hardly a word which passes the truth. It is only when it is placed before us in this vivid way that we realize the stupendous development. There certainly never has been anything like it in the history of the world. So far from wondering at the tide of immigration, the only wonder is that all Europe, or at least the poorer half of it, with its crowded population, its military burdens, and its caste distinctions, does not empty itself into such a land of promise. Such a book as this must read in Europe like the 'Arabian Nights.' It would probably pay well for one of the great land-grant railways, say the Northern Pacific, to have it reprinted by the million copies in a cheap form, with its own advertisements attached, and distributed broadcast throughout Great Britain.

After reading such a flourish of trumpets over material success, one becomes rather curious to know how the author will face problems much more open to question, such as art, literature, and politics. He is not a whit daunted. As to pictures, "The American is recognized now in the European markets as one of the shrewdest, as well as one of the most liberal, buyers"; while "the United States now possess more and finer examples of the modern French and German schools of painting than are to be found in Europe," and have, besides, an excellent school of their own. Under architecture, he observes that "one block in Chicago has thirteen stories, the highest hardly less elaborate in decoration or less perfect in its appointments than the lowest"; while in music he thinks there should be an international contest, the Thomas and Richter orchestras playing in competition on alternate nights, first in London and then in New York. "It is estimated that there are twenty-three thousand school libraries in America, containing forty-five million books—*twelve million more than all the public libraries of Europe combined*"; while it is further noted that the public schools of the United States cost in 1880 over sixteen millions sterling.

In political matters we should say that the author's zeal decidedly outruns his discretion. He approves, not only of elected officials, but of elected judges. "Who are so deeply interested in the able and pure administration of justice as the masses of the people, the poorer classes of the people, who may be trusted to elect the men least likely to lean unduly to the side of the rich, the powerful, and the strong?"—a proposition beautifully illustrated by the existing labor troubles. Speaking of British colonial wars, he says: "All this will change, however, when the Democracy rules their country. The parent land will become in Europe what the Republic is upon the American continent—the unselfish counsellor, the guide, the true and trusted friend of its less powerful and less advanced nations"—for example, of the Indian tribes. Again: "And upon my British readers let me once more impress the truth that in all that goes to make up a strong government, a power competent to maintain justice and to defeat attacks upon the rights or property of others, the American system is infinitely beyond the monarchical." One healthy sentiment, at all events, is very well expressed: "And for all the just and good measures by which the Republic has won my love, next to that by which she has made me her own citizen, and hence the peer of any man, kaiser, pope, or king—next to that, for which I will fight for her, if need be, die for her, and must adore her forever—I thank the Republic for her position in regard to international murder, which still passes by the name of war." The thoughtful American cannot but wince a little when he reads—"An important work done by the United States army is the improvement of rivers and harbors. Upward of a hundred million dollars have been spent by the engineer corps on rivers and harbors since the beginning of the Government, and the present annual appropriation for this purpose is very large." If the United States Government "is the largest printer and publisher in the world," the reflection unavoidably presents itself whether the quality (as, for instance, in the *Congressional Record*) is equal to the quantity. It is refreshing, again, to hear—"In none of the departments named in this chapter have politics the slightest influence. No politician could be found willing to apply any test but the suitability of the man for the work to be performed." Evidently the writer was not acquainted with Mr. Flanagan of Texas. When we read the summing up, in "the record of one century's harvest of Democracy" set forth in thirteen propositions, we are tempted, in view of Mr. Carnegie's unflinching optimism, to suggest to him that in the next edition of his book (and we hope there may be a great many) he should adopt the motto which he has proposed for the city of Chicago: "The Whole Hog."

Progressive Orthodoxy. A Contribution to the Christian Interpretation of Christian Doctrines. By the Editors of the *Andover Review*, Professors in Andover Theological Seminary. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

WITH the exception of parts of the introductory and closing articles, these papers have already had some currency in the *Andover Review*. The authors do not affix their names to the particular articles, but jointly assume the responsibility involved in their publication. The introduction is apparently by the same hand as the first article, "The Incarnation." It is written in the same astonishing manner, as it were out of time and space, and with so much obscurity that a man of good average intelligence, unused to this way of writing, might almost as well read it backward as forward for any profit it might be to him. The various writers evidently think themselves possessed of a method and results that have considerable advantages over the orthodoxy which they consider unprogressive. There is something quite pathetic in their sense of being in "the way that some call heresy." They insist, however, that their progress is entirely within orthodox limits as defined by Holy Scripture and the Œcumenical Councils of the early Church. And certainly the claim will not be disallowed by any who are not well versed in theological disputes. It will seem to them that the positions taken here ought to be orthodox enough for any one. The rationalist and the free-thinker will find a little satisfaction in the later chapters, but in the earlier much to convince them that their occupation is not gone.

The first four chapters deal with the Incarnation, the Atonement, the fate of the impenitent, and the work of the Holy Spirit. The real animus of the book discloses itself in the third of these chapters, which is called "Eschatology." It is certainly humane, for it is bent on the relief of orthodoxy from the doctrine that the heathen world and those of Christendom whose lives have been conspicuously noble, but without Christian profession, are destined to eternal misery. The case of Sir Moses Montefiore is made the starting-point of the discussion. Dr. Hodge, of Princeton, is as little disposed as the Andover professors to send Sir Moses to perdition, but his way of saving him is not theirs. It is that he was an unconscious Christian; that the merits of Christ's sacrifice were applied to him without his knowledge. But the Andover professors say that this is salvation by magic. What they contend for is that Sir Moses will have a post-mortem opportunity to save himself by a conscious acceptance of Christ as his personal Saviour. A like opportunity will be accorded all the ignorant heathen. But without conscious relation to Christ, no salvation. The speculative basis for these conclusions is laid in the other three of the first four chapters already named. One might go far and not find another such example of modern scholasticism as they afford. Their exaltation of the person of Christ is equal to the most exacting demands. To develop "a Christocentric theology" is their purpose, and they would make Christ not only central to humanity, but to the universe. In these discussions every trace of the concrete humanity of Jesus, as we find it in the Synoptic Gospels, disappears. We are in the same region of speculation as that which the Gnostics of the early Christian centuries found so congenial to their minds.

The chapters on "The Christian," and "Christianity and Missions" are further applications of the ideas in the preceding chapters; the first insisting on the consciousness of personal relationship with Christ as essential to Christian character and salvation, the second insisting that the heathen world will have a chance beyond the grave. A chapter on the Scriptures fights an obscure antagonist. If what is really meant had been expressed as clearly as possible, rather than as vaguely, it would probably be far from the traditional doctrine of the Bible's inspiration. The suggestion that Christ was not omniscient while upon the earth (p. 227), and therefore may have been mistaken in his estimate of the Old Testament, is perhaps the most "progressive" opinion in the book. What is everywhere noticeable is a use of the Bible that assumes its absolute authority. But in justifying this the writers assume a conception of Jesus that depends for its validity upon the authority which it is made to justify, and so the argument of the book moves in a continual circle. The closing chapter, "Christianity Universal," is a résumé of the preceding chapters that will give a busy man the gist of them in half an hour. We can conceive that the concessions of the book will be welcome to many gentle spirits in the Christian church, while they will be particularly offensive to the co-religionists of Sir Moses Montefiore and some others.

Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman. By himself. 2d ed. D. Appleton & Co. 2 vols. 1886.

THIS new edition of Sherman's memoirs is enlarged by preliminary and supplementary chapters, and by an appendix made up in the main of letters from officers who served under the General, containing corroboration or criticism of the opinions expressed in the first edition of the book.

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The preliminary chapter gives the pedigree and the early life and military service of the author, filling out the narrative to greater completeness as an autobiography by this account of his lineage and his youth. The supplementary chapter has an independent historical value of much importance. In it General Sherman gives the facts relating to the quarrel between President Johnson and Secretary Stanton, with some very interesting evidence touching the relations of General Grant to the President. This strongly tends to prove that Grant sympathized with Johnson in his view of the right of the Executive to insist upon having Cabinet officers in harmony with himself, and of the improper character of the Tenure-of-Office Act as applied to Stanton's case. The difference between them, it is intimated, arose when Grant had to choose between taking an aggressive part in opposing the operation of the law so as to make a test of its constitutionality, and a passive line of conduct which should avoid collision with either party. Then the General, though believing that Stanton was wrong in "sticking," and the President was right in asserting a power to remove, still naturally declined to be an active participant in the quarrel, and offended Johnson, who had reckoned upon his vigorous support. That Grant was already a candidate for the Presidency, though unavowed, counted for something in his determination of his line of conduct, as it fairly might. The statements of General Sherman on this subject are among the most conclusive and authoritative possible. His frankness and courage of opinion are indisputable, and his means of knowing the secret history of the time second to nobody's. It may fairly be said that he makes final disposition of the romance about Johnson's revolutionary purposes, and brings the whole chain of events within the ordinary purposes and motives of party intrigue or finesse; Johnson, Stanton, and Grant all being more or less openly in the field for the Presidential canvass of 1868.

Another topic of some importance, on which General Sherman's testimony is weighty, is that of the relations between the Secretary of War and the commandant of the army in ordinary administration. He gives very conclusive evidence that Grant, when General of the Army and at the beginning of his Presidency, was fully committed to the view that the military and disciplinary administration of the army should be conducted through the General in command. He carefully draws the line so as to show that this does not include or imply any diminution of the importance of the Secretary, who is the authoritative mouthpiece of the President. It is simply that, by making the General the channel through whom the business must be done, his judgment and knowledge are made available to give system and energy to the work. Sherman shows that under the influence of Rawlins, when the latter became Secretary of War, Grant reversed his own previous policy and fell into line with the custom of civilian Presidents, which has pretty uniformly resulted in making the position of the nominal commandant of the army a most uncomfortable and unsatisfactory one. The legitimate conclusion seems to be that the course originally proposed by Grant and advocated now by Sherman should be pursued, or that the office of commandant of the army should be abolished, and the affairs of the army be conducted by the Secretary of War through the generals in command of departments.

The ten years which have passed since General Sherman published these memoirs have not diminished the authority of the book or of the author. The correspondence in the appendix to the present edition is good proof that the criticisms to be fairly made upon it are neither very numerous nor important. In two or three instances only are there matters of real moment in controversy between him and other men, and the instances are rare in which he has found it proper to revise the expressions he formerly used. In some instances he has softened the form while preserving the substance; in others he has supplied omissions; in a few he has corrected errors. It may safely be said that, for purposes of military instruction and for giving a clear and fair view of the events described, it takes, and probably will continue to take, the first rank among the personal memoirs of the war period.

Madame Roland. By Mathilde Blind. [Famous Women Series.] Boston: Roberts Brothers.

THE first hundred pages of this little volume are on the whole satisfactory; but it then becomes, instead of a biography of Madame Roland, a history of the Girondins, and a history written not by an historian. The somewhat rash generalizations and assumptions of the authoress could be better pardoned were they connected with absolute accuracy of historical statement; but when we find Mirabeau compared to Samson, with the assertion, "the Delilah who shore [*sic*] him of his strength being the Queen, by whom he was bribed," one not only remembers his own proud exculpation of himself, "Je suis payé, mais je ne suis pas vendu," but one would be glad to assure Miss Blind's readers that the opinion she entertains is not the generally received opinion of the relations between Mirabeau and Marie Antoinette. And again—though a much more unimportant point—she entirely misrepresents the character of poor Lanthenas, and mingles truth and error in this statement: "His name, having been included in the list of the proscribed, was struck out by Marat, who declared him to be a mean-spirited creature (*pauvre d'esprit*)." The fact is, Marat, his ex-confrère in medicine, had some kindliness for him, and declared to the Convention (to save his life): "As for Dr. Lanthenas, everybody knows *que c'est un simple d'esprit* [that he is not quite right in his head]." Why a man should be spared because he was "a mean-spirited creature," Miss Blind does not explain. "Le bon Lanthenas méritait de mieux finir," as Sainte-Beuve says.

Miss Blind is not felicitous in her translations. In an enchanting *rural* letter of Mme. Roland's, redolent of the deliciousness of the country, Miss Blind gives us this somewhat startlingly incongruous phrase: "I am growing asinine by dint of attending to the little cares of a piggish country life." The original is, "Je m'asine à force, et m'occupe de tous les petits soins de la vie cochonne de la campagne." Sainte-Beuve, quoting this same letter, explains to the reader that the word "asiner" is here employed because Mme. Roland was then drinking asses' milk; and it would have been well if Miss Blind had at least perceived that "et m'occupe" has not the force of "de m'occuper." And if she had remembered that "cochonner" means to bungle, to botch, she might perhaps have spoken of the "clumsy" rather than the "piggish" country life, and relegated to brackets containing the original humorous words the untranslatable and merely suggested ass and pig of the sentence, conveying to the English reader only Mme. Roland's sense of the welcome casting off of the weight of human customs of thinking and doing.

We have not at hand the original of the passage quoted on page 158, but we have every reason to believe that Miss Blind has there mistaken *citrouille* for *citron*—pumpkin for lemon—and translated *plaisant* (humorous), by 'pleasing.' "I saw . . . little Barnave, . . . cold as a lemon fricasseed in snow, to use the pleasing expression of a woman of another century." This was Ninon de l'Enclos, who said of the young Marquis de Sévigné (as quoted by his mother): "C'est une âme de bouillie; c'est un corps de papier mouillé; c'est un cœur de citrouille fricassé dans de la neige." Lemon sherbet is not despicable; squash sherbet one conceives would be.

In calling the Duc de Saint-Simon "Henri Saint-Simon" (what would he have said to the omission of the *de?* and his name was Louis!) Miss Blind confuses him with his collateral descendant, the founder of Saint-Simonism; and also errs in placing a letter of his she quotes, "in the first quarter of the eighteenth century," since it is addressed to Cardinal Fleury as minister, who only came into power in 1726.

These are trivial indications of a sort of blunderingness which pervades the book and colors the thought, and is not redeemed by charm of expression. But the personal narrative, as we have already said, is agreeable. Any sympathetic picturing of the studious youth of Manon Phlipon, and the cheerful domesticity of the first years of her married life, of the early bloom and later fruitage of her noble and ardent uprightness of soul, has, of necessity, a peculiar delightfulness.

Review of the New York Musical Season, 1885–1886. By H. E. Krehbiel. Novello, Ewer & Co. Pp. 233.

THEATRICAL and musical year-books have been issued heretofore, but seldom in so elegantly printed and conveniently arranged a volume as Mr. Krehbiel's. The carefully prepared index occupies as many as fifteen pages in small type, which gives an idea of the extraordinary activity of the past musical season. Beyond a doubt, it was the busiest ever known to musicians in this city, and we suspect that, so far at least as quantity is concerned, no foreign city has ever surpassed this record. For this reason, and also because the season marked the beginning of several new and important enterprises, the volume before us is very timely. It offers so many conveniences that it is to be hoped the sale will be sufficiently large to insure its continuance in future years; but even should this not be the case, the volume will remain a valuable historic record of the most important year in the history of music in America hitherto.

The plan of the book is strictly chronological. It begins with the production of the "Mikado" on August 19, and ends on April 18, the day after the close of the American opera season. All the important concerts and operatic performances under each date are mentioned, with the names of conductor, artists, and principal works on the programme. All the novelties and many other important works are described and critically discussed at considerable length. Two tables, given in the introduction, give a list of forty-four new orchestral and vocal compositions heard for the first time this year, and a list of ten new operas and operettas, including "Die Meistersinger," "Taming of the Shrew," "Queen of Sheba," "Lakmé," "Sylvia," "Manon Lescaut," "Trompeter von Säckingen," "Gypsy Baron," "Amorita," and "Mikado." To these should be added "Don Cæsar," given a few weeks ago. The introductory chapter also includes a brief review of the three Metropolitan Opera-house seasons, with statistics of the operas produced.

The number of operatic performances given at our two houses this winter was 127, of which 19 were sung in Italian, 52 in German, and 56 in English. Of first-class orchestral concerts there were 84. The Thomas popular concerts and the American Opera, as the two most important new enterprises, receive their full share of attention. No fewer than eleven pages are devoted to an

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erudite analysis of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, and "Die Meistersinger" comes in for an article almost as long, at the end of which is reprinted, from Wagenseil, one of the original songs of the mastersingers which candidates had to sing, and which Wagner parodied in *Beckmesser's* music. The volume is handsomely bound, and should be in every musician's library.

The Great Conspiracy: Its Origin and History. By John A. Logan. New York: A. R. Hart & Co.

WE have no idea of reviewing this volume. It is not a history, although it purports to be one. It is rather what might be called a narrative stump speech, with no limitation as to time of delivery except the orator's good pleasure or fatigue. Gen. Logan's thesis is, that the rebellion was the result of a combined pro-slavery and free-trade conspiracy for the control of the nation; that the Republican party "successfully solved" "the difficult and perplexing problems involved in the Reconstruction of the Union," and yet was credulously and good-naturedly led into taking back States and citizens bent on renewing the old conspiracy; and that these desperadoes got "on top," at the last Presidential election, "and they MEAN TO KEEP THERE—IF THEY CAN." With this shriek the book ends (so far as the main text is concerned) on p. 674. An appendix of 80 pages condenses the Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858, which had already been summarized in chapter iv ("Popular Sovereignty") in 36 pages. In other words, this topic occupies a seventh of the book. On the other hand, the "Growth of the Slavery Question," chap. iii, is despatched in 16 pages, in which there is no allusion to the rise of abolitionism, and but one to the existence of abolitionists. They are then confounded with the party that voted for "John Birney" (as the index calls him) in 1844. That is all we learn about them in the entire "history." Gen. Logan is careful to avoid giving signs of original research or original ideas. His political judgments are uncontrolled by any innate or acquired moral consistency. He blames (by implication) the Liberty party for defeating the election of Clay; as if this were playing into the hands of the slave power; but he is proud of his own part in trying to gain acceptance for the peace propositions before the outbreak of the civil war—a compromise in the interest of slavery which we should have expected of Clay had he been alive.

Although Gen. Logan fills but a modest space in the index, he allows himself enough room in his narrative to smooth over his pro-slavery record, and to repudiate once more the imputations cast on his loyalty to the Union. In so doing he quotes with evident satisfaction a specimen of his florid oratory, which will bear framing along with a precious sentence near the very close (pp. 672-674), only one and two-thirds pages long. His opinion of Fitz-John Porter could hardly have been kept out of his military chapters. In other respects it cannot be said that he obtrudes his personality on his readers, or that he specifically recommends himself to the electors of 1888. His evident plan is to go before them as a protectionist, a soldiers' friend, and a waver of the bloody shirt. Unlike the historian Blaine, he has no calculated flattery of the South, no apology for repudiation, no distribution of compliments for his colleagues in the Republican party. Indeed, his living contemporaries are scarcely mentioned, and we regret to observe that Mr. Blaine is relegated to the footnotes, where he figures simply among the yeas and nays on three Congressional occasions. Since the late candidate for the Vice-Presidency passes over the Reconstruction period entirely, courtesy to his old chief might have prompted a reference to the latest source of sound Republican views on this subject. But, then, Gen. Logan can plead that he is habitually sparing of references to authorities.

The volume is illustrated with a few maps, and with numerous portraits, rather oddly selected and cheaply executed.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Balzac, H. de. Eugénie Grandet. Boston: Roberts Brothers. $1.50.
Bates, C. The Law of Limited Partnership. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.
Broglie, Duc de. Souvenirs: 1785-1870. T. 1. Boston: Schoenhof.
Campbell-Abbott. Sophocles for the Use of Schools. New and revised edition. In 2 vols. Macmillan & Co. $2.75.
Clerke, Agnes M. A Popular History of Astronomy during the 19th Century. Macmillan & Co. $4.
Craik, Mrs. D. M. King Arthur. Not a Love Story. Harper & Brothers.
De Amicis, E. Alberto. No. 1. W. R. Jenkins. 35 cents.
Erckmann-Chatrian. Les Fiancés de Grinderwald. W. R. Jenkins. 25 cents.
Face to Face. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25.
Hardy, A. S. The Wind of Destiny. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
Harris, Miriam Cowles. A Perfect Adonis. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 50 cents.
Jevons, W. S. Letters and Journal. Edited by his Wife. Macmillan & Co. $4.
Kennard, Mrs. Edward. Killed in the Open: A Novel. Harper's Franklin Square Library. 20 cents.
King, Capt. C. Marian's Faith. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $1.25.
Krehbiel, H. E. Review of the New York Musical Season, 1885-86. Novello, Ewer & Co.
Laugel, A. Fragments d'histoire. Paris: Calmann Lévy.
Laveleye, E. de. La Péninsule des Balkans. 2 vols. Brussels: Merzbach & Falk; New York: F. W. Christern.
Lubomirsky, Prince J. Tzar, Archiduchesse et Burgraves. F. W. Christern.
Lucy, H. W. A Diary of Two Parliaments. The Gladstone Parliament. 1880-1885. Cassell & Co. $4.
Nourisson. Pascal: physicien et philosophe. Boston: Carl Schoenhof.
Oberholtzer, Mrs. S. L. Daisies of Verse. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $1.25.
Oldcastle, J. The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Catholic Publication Society.
Perez-Bonalde, J. A. Enrique Heine: El Cancionero (Das Buch der Lieder). New York: F. W. Christern.
Quinet, E. Lettres d'Exil. T. III. Boston: Schoenhof.
Rand, E. A. The Camp at Surf Bluff. Phillips & Hunt. $1.25.
Scruples. Cassell & Co. 25 cents.
Stanton, Evan. Ruhainah: A Story of Afghan Life. Cassell & Co. $1.
The Familiar Letters of Peppermint Perkins. Boston: Ticknor & Co. $1.
Theuriet, A. Bigarreau. Boston: Schoenhof.
Tidball, Mary Langdon. Barbara's Vagaries. Harper & Brothers.
Tommy's First Speaker for Little Boys and Girls. Edited by Tommy Himself. Chicago: W. H. Harrison, jr. 50 cents.
Wilson-Fowler. The Principles of Morals. (Introductory Chapters.) Macmillan & Co. $1.25.
Winter, W. The Stage Life of Mary Anderson. George J. Coombes.
Wolff, A. La Gloire à Paris. Boston: Schoenhof.
Woolf, Dr. P. Who is Guilty? Cassell & Co. $1.
Woolner, T. Tiresias: A Poem. London: G. Bell & Sons.
Woolson, Constance Fenimore. East Angels: A Novel. Harper & Brothers.
Woolson, Mrs. Abba G. George Eliot and Her Heroines. Harper & Brothers.
Zeuthen, H. G. Die Lehre von den Kegelschnitten in Altertum. Erster Halbband. Kopenhagen: A. F. Höst & Sohn.
Zola, E. L'Œuvre. Paris: Charpentier; New York: Christern.

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